THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

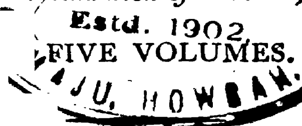
FROM

THE REVOLUTION

TO

THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

(*Designed as a Continuation of Mr. Hume's History.*)



FIVE VOLUMES.

BY T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

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TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

BOOK III.

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§ I.

CHAP. VI. 1756.

§ I. HAVING thus, to the best of our power, given a faithful and exact detail of every material event, in which Great-Britain was concerned either at home, or in her settlements abroad, during the greatest part of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, we shall now return to Europe, and endeavour to explain the beginning of a bloody war in Germany, which then seemed to have become the chief object of the British councils. On the eve of a rupture between France and England, it was natural for his Britannick Majesty to provide for the safety of his Electoral dominions, the only quarter by which he was at all accessible to the efforts of the enemy, who he foresaw would not fail to annoy him through that avenue. He, at that time, stood upon indifferent terms with the King of Prussia, who was considered as a partizan and ally of France: and he knew that the House of Austria alone would not be sufficient to support him against two such powerful antagonists. In this emergency, he had recourse to the Empress of Russia, who, in consequence of a large subsidy granted by England, engaged to furnish a strong body of forces for the defence of Hanover. His Prussian Majesty, startled at the conditions of this treaty, took an opportunity to declare that he would not suffer foreign forces of any nation to enter the empire, either as principals or auxiliaries; a declaration which probably flowed from a jealousy and aversion he had conceived to the Court of Petersburg, as well as from a resolution he had formed of striking some great stroke in Germany, without any risque of being restricted or controlled. He knew he should give umbrage to the French King, who had already made preparations for penetrating into Westphalia: but he took it for granted he should be able to exchange his connexions with France for the alliance with Great-Britain, which would be much less troublesome, and

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had obliged themselves to destroy the Protestant Religion, and overturn the freedom of the Empire, by a forced election of a King of the Romans. The cry of Religion was no impolitick measure: but it no longer produced the same effect as in times past. Religion was made a pretence on both sides; for the partisans of the Empress-Queen insinuated, on all occasions, that the ruin of the Catholick faith in Germany was the principal object of the new alliance between the Kings of Great-Britain and Prussia. It was in consequence of such suggestions, that his Britannick Majesty ordered his electoral minister at the Diet, to deliver a memorial to all the ministers at Ratisbon, expressing his surprize to find the treaty he had concluded with the King of Prussia industriously represented as a ground of apprehension and umbrage, especially for religion. He observed, that as France had made open dispositions for invading the electorate of Hanover, and disturbing the peace of the empire; that as he had been denied, by the Empress-Queen, the succours stipulated in treaties of alliance; and as he was refused assistance by certain States of the Empire, who even seemed disposed to favour such a diversion: he had, in order to provide for the security of his own dominions, to establish peace and tranquillity in the Empire, and maintain its system and privileges, without any prejudice to Religion, concluded a defensive treaty with the King of Prussia: that, by this instance of patriotick zeal for the welfare of Germany, he had done an essential service to the Empress-Queen, and performed the part which the head of the Empire, in dignity and duty, ought to have acted: that time would demonstrate how little it was the interest of the Empress-Queen to engage in a strict alliance with a foreign power, which, for upwards of two centuries, had ravaged the principal provinces of the Empire, maintained repeated wars against the Archducal House of Austria, and always endeavoured,

deavoured, as it suited her views, to excite distrust and dissension among the Princes and States that compose the Germanick body.

§ III. The Court of Vienna formed two considerable armies in Bohemia and Moravia; yet pretended that they had nothing in view but self-preservation, and solemnly disclaimed both the secret article, and the design which had been laid to their charge. His most Christian Majesty declared, by his Minister at Berlin, that he had no other intention but to maintain the publick tranquillity of Europe; and, this being the sole end of all his measures, he beheld with surprize the preparations and armaments of certain potentates: that, whatever might be the view with which they were made, he was disposed to make use of the power which God had put into his hands, not only to maintain the publick peace of Europe against all who should attempt to disturb it, but also to employ all his forces, agreeably to his engagements, for the assistance of his ally, in case her dominions should be attacked: finally, that he would act in the same manner in behalf of all the other powers with whom he was in alliance. This intimation made very little impression upon the King of Prussia, who had already formed his plan, and was determined to execute his purpose. What his original plan might have been, we shall not pretend to disclose; nor do we believe he imparted it to any confident or ally. It must be confessed, however, that the intrigues of the Court of Vienna furnished him with a specious pretence for drawing the sword, and commencing hostilities. The Empress-Queen had some reason to be jealous of such a formidable neighbour. She remembered his irruption into Bohemia, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, at a time when she thought that country, and all her other dominions, secure from his invasion by the treaty of Breslau, which she had in no particular contravened. She

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caballed against him in different Courts of Europe; she concluded a treaty with the Czarina, which though seemingly defensive, implied an intention of making conquests upon this Monarch: she endeavoured to engage the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, as a contracting power in this confederacy; and, if he had not been afraid of a sudden visit from his neighbour of Prussia, it cannot be supposed but he would have been pleased to contribute to the humiliation of a Prince, who had once before, without the least provocation, driven him from his dominions, taken possession of his capital, routed his troops, and obliged him to pay a million of crowns to indemnify him for the expense of this expedition: but he carefully avoided taking such a step as might expose him to another invasion, and even refused to accede to the treaty of Petersburgh, though it was expressly defensive; the *Casus Fœderus* being his Prussian Majesty's attacking either of the contracting parties. It appears, however, that Count de Bruhl, prime minister and favourite of the King of Poland, had, in conjunction with some of the Austrian ministers, carried on certain scandalous intrigues, in order to embroil the King of Prussia with the Empress of Russia, between whom a misunderstanding had long subsisted.

§ IV. His Prussian Majesty, perceiving the military preparations of the Court of Vienna, and having obtained intelligence of their secret negociations with different powers of Europe, ordered M. de Klingraafe, his minister at the Imperial Court, to demand whether all those preparations of war, on the frontiers of Silesia, were designed against him, and what were the intentions of her Imperial Majesty? To this demand the empress replied, That in the present juncture she had found it necessary to make armaments, as well for her own defence as for that of her allies; but that they did not tend to the prejudice of any person or state whatever. The King,

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far from being satisfied with this general answer, sent fresh orders to Klingraafe, to represent, that after the King had assembled, as long as he thought consistent with his safety and honour, the bad designs imputed to the Empress would not suffer him longer to disguise his sentiments: that he was acquainted with the offensive projects which the two courts had formed at Petersburgh; that he knew they had engaged to attack him suddenly with an army of two hundred thousand men; a design which would have been executed in the spring of the year, had not the Russian forces wanted recruits, their fleet mariners, and Livonia a sufficient quantity of corn for their support; that he constituted the Empress arbiter of peace or war: if she desired the former, he required a clear and formal declaration, or positive assurance, that she had no intention to attack him, either this year or the next; but he should look upon an ambiguous answer as a declaration of war; and he called heaven to witness, that the Empress alone would be guilty of the innocent blood that should be spilt, and all the dismal consequences that would attend the commission of hostilities.

§ V. A declaration of this nature might have provoked a less haughty court than that of Vienna, and, indeed, seems to have been calculated on purpose to exasperate the pride of her Imperial Majesty, whose answer he soon received to this effect: that his Majesty the King of Prussia had already been employed, for some time, in all kinds of the most considerable preparations of war, and the most disquieting with regard to the publick tranquillity, when he thought fit to demand explanations of her Majesty, touching the military dispositions that were making in her dominions; dispositions on which she had not resolved till after the preparations of his Prussian Majesty had been made; that though her Majesty, might have declined explaining herself on those subjects, which required no explanation, she had been

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been pleased to declare, with her own mouth, to M. de Klingraafe, that the critical state of publick affairs rendered the measures she was taking absolutely necessary for her own safety, and that of her allies; but that, in other respects, they tended to the prejudice of no person whatsoever: that her Imperial Majesty had undoubtedly a right to form what judgment she pleased on the circumstances of the times; and likewise that it belonged to none but herself to estimate her own danger: that her declaration was so clear, she never imagined it could be thought otherwise: that being accustomed to receive, as well as to practise, the decorums which Sovereigns owe to each other, she could not hear without astonishment and sensibility the contents of the memorial now presented by M. de Klingraafe; so extraordinary, both in the matter and expressions, that she would find herself under a necessity of transgressing the bounds of that moderation which she had prescribed to herself, were she to answer the whole of its contents; nevertheless, she thought proper to declare, that the information communicated to his Prussian Majesty, of an offensive alliance against him, subsisting between herself and the Empress of Russia, together with the circumstances and pretended stipulations of that alliance, were absolutely false and forged, for no such treaty did exist, or ever had existed. She concluded with observing, that this declaration would enable all Europe to judge of what weight and quality those dreadful events were which Klingraafe's memorial announced; and to perceive that, in any case, they could not be imputed to her Imperial Majesty. This answer, though seemingly explicit, was not deemed sufficiently categorical, or, at least, not suitable to the purposes of the King of Prussia, who, by his resident at Vienna, once more declared, that if the Empress Queen would sign a positive assurance that she would not attack his Prussian Majesty, either this year or the next, he

would directly withdraw his troops, and let things be restored to their former footing. This demand was evaded, on pretence that such an assurance could not be more binding than the solemn treaty by which he was already secured; a treaty which the Empress-Queen had no intention to violate. But, before an answer could be delivered, the King had actually invaded Saxony, and published his declaration against the Court of Vienna. The Court of Vienna believing that the King of Prussia was bent upon employing his arms somewhere; being piqued at the dictatorial manner in which his demands were conveyed; unwilling to lay themselves under further restrictions; apprehensive of giving umbrage to their allies, and confident of having provided for their own security, resolved to run the risque of his resentment, not without hopes of being indemnified in the course of the war, for that part of Silesia which the Queen had been obliged to cede in the treaty of Breslau.

§ VI. Both sides being thus prepared, and perhaps equally eager for action, the King of Prussia would no longer suspend his operations, and the storm fell first upon Saxony. He resolved to penetrate through that country into Bohemia, and even to take possession of it as a frontier, as well as for the convenience of ingress and egress to and from the Austrian dominions. Besides, he had reason to believe the king of Poland, Elector of Saxony, was connected with the Czarina and the Empress-Queen; therefore, he thought it would be impolitick to leave that Prince in any condition to give him the least disturbance. His army entered the Saxon territory towards the latter end of August, when he published a declaration, importing that the unjust conduct and dangerous views of the Court of Vienna against his Majesty's dominions laid him under the necessity of taking proper measures for protecting his territories and subjects; that for this purpose he could not forbear taking the disagreeable resolution to en-

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ter with his troops the hereditary dominions of his Majesty the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony: but he protested before God and man, that on account of his personal esteem and friendship for that Prince, he would not have proceeded to this extremity, had he not been forced to it by the laws of war, the fatality of the present conjuncture, and the necessity of providing for the defence and security of his subjects. He reminded the publick of the tenderness with which he had treated the Elector of Saxony, during the campaign of the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, and of the bad consequences resulting to that Monarch from his engagements with the enemies of Prussia. He declared that the apprehensions of being exposed again to such enterprises, had obliged him to take those precautions which prudence dictated: but he protested in the most solemn manner, that he had no hostile views against his Polish Majesty, or his dominions: that his troops did not enter Saxony as enemies, and he had taken care that they should observe the best order and the most exact discipline: that he desired nothing more ardently, than the happy minute that should procure him to the satisfaction of restoring to his Polish Majesty his hereditary dominions, which he had seized only as a sacred depositum. By his minister at Dresden, he had demanded a free passage for his forces through the Saxon dominions; and this the King of Poland was ready to grant, with reasonable limitations, to be settled by commissaries appointed for that purpose. But these were formalities which did not at all suit with his Prussian Majesty's disposition or design. Even before this requisition was made, a body of his troops, amounting to fifteen thousand, under the command of Prince Ferdinand, brother to the Duke of Brunswick, took possession of Leipsick on the twentieth day of September. Here he published a declaration, signifying that it was his Prussian Majesty's intention to consider

consider and defend the inhabitants of that Electorate as if they were his own subjects; and that he had given precise orders to his troops to observe the most exact discipline. As the first mark of his affection, he ordered them to provide the army with all sorts of provision, according to a certain rate, on pain of military execution. That same evening notice was given to the corporation of merchants, that their deputies should pay all taxes and customs to the King of Prussia; then he took possession of the custom-house, and excise-office, and ordered the magazines of corn and meal to be opened for the use of his soldiers.

§ VII. The King of Poland, apprehensive of such a visitation, had ordered all the troops of his electorate to leave their quarters, and assemble in a strong camp marked out for them, between Pirna and Konigstein, which was entrenched, and provided with a numerous train of artillery. Thither the King of Poland repaired, with his two sons Xaverius and Charles; but the Queen and the rest of the royal family remained at Dresden. Of his capital his Prussian Majesty, with the bulk of the army, took possession on the eighth day of September, when he was visited by Lord Stormont, the English Ambassador at that court, accompanied by Count Salmour, a Saxon minister, who, in his Master's name, proposed a neutrality. The King of Prussia professed himself extremely well pleased with the proposal; and, as the most convincing proof of his neutrality, desired the King of Poland would separate his army, by ordering his troops to return to their former quarters. His Polish Majesty did not like to be so tutored in his own dominions: he depended for his own safety more upon the valour and attachment of his troops thus assembled, than upon the friendship of a Prince who had invaded his dominions, and sequestered his revenue without provocation; and he trusted too much to the situation of his camp

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at Pirna, which was deemed impregnable. In the mean time, the King of Prussia fixed his head-quarters at Seidlitz, about half a German league distant from Pirna, and posted his army in such a manner, as ſo be able to intercept all convoys of provision designed for the Saxon camp: his forces extended on the right towards the frontiers of Bohemia, and the vanguard actually seized the passes that lead to the circles of Satzer and Leumeritz, in that kingdom; while Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick marched with a body of troops along the Elbe, and took post at this last place without opposition. At the same time, the King covered his own dominions, by assembling two considerable bodies in Upper and Lower Silesia, which occupied the passes that communicated with the circles of Buntzlau and Koningsgratz. Hostilities were commenced on the thirteenth day of September, by a detachment of Prussian hussars, who attacked an Austrian escort to a convoy of provisions, designed for the Saxon camp; and having routed them, carried off a considerable number of loaded waggons. The magazines at Dresden were filled with an immense quantity of provision and forage for the Prussian army, and the bakers were ordered to prepare a vast quantity of bread, for which purpose thirty new ovens were erected. When the King of Prussia first arrived at Dresden, he lodged at the house of the Countess Moczinska, and gave orders that the Queen and Royal Family of Poland, should be treated with all due veneration and respect*: even while the Saxon camp

* His Majesty seems to have abated of this respect in the sequel, if we may believe the assertions of his Polish Majesty's Queen, and the Court of Vienna, who affirmed, that sentinels were posted within the Palace where the Queen and Royal Family resided; as also at the door of the secret cabinet, where the papers relating to foreign transactions were deposited. The keys of this cabinet were seized, and all the writings demanded. The whole Saxon ministry were discharged from their respective employments, and a new commission was established by the king of Prussia for the administration of affairs in general. When the Queen entreated this Prince to remove the sentinels

camp was blocked up on every side, he sometimes permitted a waggon, loaded with fresh provision and game, to pass unmolested, for the use of his Polish Majesty.

§ VIII. During these transactions, the greatest part of the Prussian army advanced into Bohemia, under the command of Veldt-Mareschal Keith*, who reduced the town and palace of Tetchen, took possession of all the passes, and encamped near Aussig, a small town in Bohemia, at no great distance from the Imperial army, amounting to fifty thousand men, commanded by Count Brown, an officer of Irish extract, who had often distinguished himself in the field by his courage, vigilance, and conduct. His Prussian Majesty having left a considerable body of troops for the blockade of Pirna, assumed in person the command of Mareschal Keith's corps, and advanced to give battle to the enemy. On the twenty-ninth day of September he formed his troops in two columns, and in the evening arrived with his van at Welmina, from whence he saw the Austrian army posted with its right at Lowoschutz, and its

sentinels posted within his palace, and contiguous passages, agreeably to his assurances, that all due respect should be observed towards the Royal Family, the King ordered the guards to be doubled, and sent an officer to demand of her Majesty the keys of the secret cabinet. The Queen obtained the officer's consent, that the doors should be sealed up; but afterwards he returned with orders to break them open: then her Majesty placing herself before the door, said, she trusted so much to the promise of the King of Prussia, that she could not believe he had given such orders. The officer declaring that his orders were positive, and that he durst not disobey them, she continued in the same place, declaring, that if violence was to be used, he must begin with her. The officer returning to acquaint the King with what had passed, her Majesty conjured the Ministers of Prussia and England to remind his Majesty of his promise; but her representations had no effect; the officer returned with fresh orders to use force, in spite of the opposition she might make against it in person. The Queen, finding herself in danger of her life, at length withdrew: the doors were forced, the chest broke open, and all the papers seized.

* Brother to the Earl Mareschal of Scotland, a gentleman who had signalized himself as a General in the Russian army, and was accounted one of the best officers of his time; not more admired for his warlike genius, than amiable in his disposition.

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left towards the Egra. Having occupied with six battalions a hollow way, and some rising grounds, which commanded the town of Lowoschutz, he remained all night under arms at Welmina; and on the first day of October, early in the morning, formed his whole army in order of battle; the first line, consisting of the infantry, occupying two hills, and a bottom betwixt them; the second line being formed of some battalions, and the third composed of the whole cavalry. The Austrian General had taken possession of Lowoschutz, with a great body of infantry, and placed a battery of cannon in front of the town: he had formed his cavalry chequerwise, in a line between Lowoschutz, and the village of Sanschitz; and posted about two thousand Croats and irregulars in the vineyards and avenues on his right. The morning was darkened with a thick fog, which vanished about seven: then the Prussian cavalry advanced to attack the enemy's horse; but received such a fire from the irregulars, posted in vineyards and ditches, as well as from a numerous artillery, that they were obliged to retire for protection to the rear of the Prussian infantry and cannon. There being formed and led back to the charge, they made an impression on the Austrian cavalry, and drove the irregulars, and other bodies of infantry, from the ditches, defiles, and vineyards which they possessed: but they suffered so severely in this dangerous service, that the King ordered them to re-ascend the hill, and take post again behind the infantry, from whence they no more advanced. In the mean time, a furious cannonading was maintained on both sides with considerable effects. At length the left of the Prussian infantry was ordered to attack the town of Lowoschutz in flank; but met with a very warm reception, and in all likelihood, would have miscarried, had not Veldt-Mareschal Keith headed them in person: when he drew his sword,

sword, and told them he would lead them on, he was given to understand, that all their powder and shot were exhausted; he turned immediately to them with a cheerful countenance, said he was very glad they had no more ammunition, being well assured the enemy could not withstand them at push of bayonet; so saying, he advanced at their head, and, driving the Austrians from Lowoschutz, set the suburbs on fire. The infantry had been already obliged to quit the eminence on the right; and now their whole army retired to Budin, on the other side of the Egra. Some prisoners, colours, and pieces of cannon, were taken on both sides; and the loss of each might amount to two thousand five hundred killed and wounded: so that, on the whole, it was a drawn battle, though both generals claimed the victory. The detail of the action, published at Berlin, declares, that the King of Prussia not only gained the battle, but that same day established his head-quarters at Lowoschutz: whereas the Austrian Gazette affirms, that the Mareschal Count Brown obliged his Prussian Majesty to retire, and remained all night on the field of battle; but next day, finding his troops in want of water, he repaired to the camp of Budin. If the battle was at all decisive, the advantage certainly fell to the Austrians; for his Prussian Majesty, who, in all probability, had hoped to winter at Prague, was obliged by the opposition he met with, to resign this plan, and retreat before winter into the electorate of Saxony.

§ IX. The Prussian army having rejoined that body which had been left to block up the Saxons at Pirna, his Polish Majesty and his troops were reduced to such extremity of want, that it became indispensably necessary either to attempt an escape, or surrender to the King of Prussia. The former part of the alternative was chosen, and the plan concerted with Count Brown, the Austrian general, who, in order to facilitate the execution, advanced

 privately

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privately with a body of troops to Lichtendorf, near Schandeau; but the junction could not be effected. On the fourteenth day of October the Saxons threw a bridge of boats over the Elbe, near Konigstein, to which castle they removed all their artillery; then striking their tents in the night, passed the river undiscovered by the enemy. They continued to retreat with all possible expedition; but the roads were so bad, they made little progress. Next day, when part of them had advanced about half way up a hill opposite to Konigstein, and the rest were entangled in a narrow plain, where there was no room to act, they perceived that the Prussians were in possession of all the passes, and found themselves surrounded on every side, fainting with hunger and fatigue, and destitute of every convenience. In this deplorable condition they remained, when the King of Poland, from the fortress of Konigstein, sent a letter to his general, the Veldt-Mareschal Count Rutowski, vesting him with full and discretionary power to surrender, or take such other measures, as he should judge most conducive to the preservation of the officers and soldiers*. By this time Count Brown had retired to

* The letter was to the following effect:

"Veldt-Mareschal Count Rutowski,

"It is not without extreme sorrow I understand the deplorable situation, which a chain of misfortunes has reserved for you, the rest of my generals, and my whole army; but we must acquiesce in the dispensations of Providence, and console ourselves with the rectitude of our sentiments and intentions. They would force me, it seems, as you give me to understand, by Major-General the Baron de Dyherrn, to submit to conditions the more severe, in proportion as the circumstances become more necessitous. I cannot hear them mentioned. I am a free monarch; such I will live; such I will die; and I will both live and die with honour. The fate of my army I leave wholly to your discretion. Let your Council of War determine whether you must surrender prisoners of war, fall by the sword, or die by famine. May your resolutions, if possible, be conducted by humanity; whatever they may be, I have no longer any share in them: and I declare you shall not be answerable for aught but one thing, namely, not to carry arms against me or my allies I pray God may have you, Mr. Mareschal, in his holy keeping. Given at Konigstein, the 14th of October, 1756.

AUGUSTUS, Rex."

"To the Veldt-Mareschal the Count Rutowski."

Budin,

Budin, so that there was no choice left. A capitulation was demanded: but, in effect, the whole Saxon army was obliged to surrender at discretion: and the soldiers were afterwards, by compulsion, incorporated with the troops of Prussia. The King of Poland being thus deprived of his electoral dominions, his troops, arms, artillery, and ammunition, thought it high time to provide for his own safety, and retired with all expedition to Poland. His Prussian Majesty cantoned his forces in the neighbourhood of Seidlitz, and along the Elbe towards Dresden. His other army, which had entered Bohemia, under the command of the Count de Ichwerin, retired to the confines of the county of Glatz, where they were distributed in quarters of cantonment; so that this short campaign was finished by the beginning of November.

§ X. The King of Poland in his distress, did not fail to inplore the assistance and mediation of neutral powers. His minister at the Hague, presented a memorial to the States-General, complaining, that the invasion of Saxony was one of those attacks against the law of nations, which, from the great respect due to this law, demanded the assistance of every power interested in the preservation of its own liberty and independency. He observed, that from the first glimpse of misunderstanding between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, he had expressly enjoined his ministers at all the courts of Europe, to declare, that it was his firm resolution, in the present conjuncture of affairs, to observe the strictest neutrality. He represented that a free and neutral state had been, in the midst of peace, invaded by an enemy, who disguised himself under the masque of friendship, without alledging the least complaint, or any pretension whatsoever; but founding himself solely on his own convenience, made himself master, by armed force, of all the cities and towns of the electorate, dismantling some, and fortifying others:

 that

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that he had disarmed the Burghers: carried off the Magistrates as hostages for the payment of unjust and enormous contributions of provisions and forage; seized the coffers and confiscated the revenues of the electorate, broke open the arsenals, and transported the arms and artillery to his own town of Magdeburgh; abolished the Privy-council, and, instead of the lawful government, established a directory, which acknowledged no other law but his own arbitrary will. He gave them to understand, that all these proceedings were no other than preliminaries to the unheard of treatment which was reserved for a Queen, whose virtues ought to have commanded respect, even from her enemies: that from the hands of that august princess, the archives of the state were forced away by menaces and violences, notwithstanding the security which her Majesty had promised herself under the protection of all laws, human and divine; and notwithstanding the repeated assurances given by the King of Prussia, that not only her person, and the place of her residence, should be absolutely safe, but that even the Prussian garrison should be under her direction. He observed, that a Prince who declared himself protector of the Protestant religion had begun the war by crushing the very state to which that religion owes its establishment, and the preservation of its most invaluable rights; that he had broke through the most respectable laws which constitute the union of the Germanick body, under colour of a defence which the Empire stood in no need of except against himself: that the King of Prussia, while he insists on having entered Saxony as a friend, demands his army, the administration of his dominions, and, in a word, the sacrifice of his whole electorate; and that the Prussian directory, in the declaration of motives, published under the nose of a Prince to whom friendship was pretended, thought it superfluous to alledge even any pretext, to colour the usurpation of his territories

territories and revenues—Though this was certainly the case, in his Prussian Majesty's first exposition of motives, the omission was afterwards supplied, in a subsequent memorial to the States-General; in which he charged the King of Poland, as an accomplice in, if not an accessary to, the treaty of Petersburgh; and even taxed him with having agreed to a partition of some Prussian territories, when they should be conquered. This treaty of partition, however, appears to have been made in time of actual war, before all cause of dispute was removed by the peace of Dresden.

§ XI. While the Austrian and Prussian armies were in the field, their respective ministers were not idle at Ratisbon, where three Imperial decrees were published against his Prussian Majesty: the first, summoning that Prince to withdraw his troops from the electorate of Saxony: the second, commanding all the vassals of the Empire employed by the King of Prussia to quit that service immediately; and the third, forbidding the members of the Empire to suffer any levies of soldiers, for the Prussian service, to be raised within their respective jurisdictions. The French minister declared to the Diet, that the proceedings of his Prussian Majesty having disclosed to the world the project concerted between that Prince and the King of England, to excite in the Empire a religious war, which might be favourable to their particular views, his most Christian Majesty, in consequence of his engagement with the Empress-Queen, and many other Princes of the Empire, being resolved to succour them in the most efficacious manner, would forthwith send such a number of troops to their aid, as might be thought necessary to preserve the liberty of the Germanick body. On the other hand, the Prussian minister assured the Diet, that his master would very soon produce the proofs that were come to his hands of the plan concerted by the Courts of Vienna and Dresden, for the

 subversion

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subversion of his electoral house, and for imposing upon him a yoke, which seemed to threaten the whole Empire.

§ XII. About the same time, the Russian resident at the Hague communicated to the States-General a declaration from his mistress, importing that her imperial Majesty having seen a memorial presented at the Court of Vienna by the King of Prussia's envoy extraordinary, was thereby convinced that his Prussian Majesty's intention was to attack the territories of the Empress Queen; in which case, she (the Czarina) was inevitably obliged to succour her ally with all her forces; for which end she had ordered all her troops in Livonia to be forthwith assembled on the frontiers, and hold themselves in readiness to march: that, moreover, the Russian Admiralty had been enjoined to provide immediately a sufficient number of gallies for transporting a large body of troops to Lubeck. The Ministers of the Empress-Queen, both at the Hague and at London, delivered memorials to the States-General and his Britannick Majesty, demanding the succours which these two powers were bound to afford the House of Austria by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; but their High Mightinesses kept warily aloof, by dint of evasion, and the King of Great-Britain was far otherwise engaged. The invasion of Saxony had well nigh produced tragedies in the royal family of France. The Dauphiness, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, no sooner learned the distressful circumstances of her parents, the King and Queen of Poland, than she was seized with violent fits which occasioned a miscarriage, and brought her life into the most imminent danger. The Prussian Minister was immediately ordered to quit Versailles; and directions were dispatched to the French Minister at Berlin, to retire from that court without taking leave. Finally, the Emperor of Germany concluded a new convention with the French King, regulating

gulating the succours to be derived from that quarter: he claimed, in all the usual forms, the assistance of the Germanick body, as guarantee of the pragmatick sanction and treaty of Dresden; and Sweden was also addressed on the same subject.

§ XIII. The King of Prussia did not passively bear all the imputations that were fixed upon his conduct. His Minister at the Hague presented a memorial, in answer to that of the Saxon resident, in which he accused the court of Dresden of having adopted every part of the scheme which his enemies had formed for his destruction. He affirmed that the Saxon Ministers had, in all the courts of Europe, played off every engine of unwarrantable politicks, in order to pave the way for the execution of their project: that they had endeavoured to give an odious turn to his most innocent actions: that they had spared neither malicious insinuations, nor even the most atrocious calumnies, to alienate all the world from his Majesty, and raise up enemies against him every where. He said he had received information that the court of Saxony intended to let his troops pass freely, and afterwards wait for events of which they might avail themselves, either by joining his enemies, or making a diversion in his dominions: that in such a situation he could not avoid having recourse to the only means which were left him for preventing his inevitable ruin, by putting it out of the power of Saxony to increase the number of his enemies. He asserted, that all the measures he had pursued in that electorate were but the necessary consequences of the first resolution he was forced to take for his own preservation: that he had done nothing but deprived the court of Saxony of the means of hurting him; and this had been done with all possible moderation: that the country enjoyed all the security and all the quiet which could be expected in the very midst of peace, the Prussian troops observed the most exact discipline: that all due respect was

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was shown to the Queen of Poland, who had been prevailed upon, by the most suitable representations, to suffer some papers to be taken from the Paper Office, of which his Prussian Majesty already had copies; and thought it necessary, to ascertain the dangerous design of the Saxon ministry against him, to secure the originals; the existence and reality of which might otherwise have been denied. He observed, that every man has a right to prevent the mischief with which he is threatened, and to retort it upon its author; and that neither the constitutions nor the laws of the empire could obstruct the exertion of a right so superior to all others as that of self-preservation and self-defence; especially when the depository of these laws is so closely united to the enemy, as manifestly to abuse his power in her favour.

§ XIV. But the most important step which his Prussian Majesty took in his own justification, was that of publishing another memorial, specifying the conduct of the courts of Vienna and Saxony, and their dangerous designs against his person and interest, together with the original documents adduced as proofs of these sinister intentions. As a knowledge of these pieces is requisite to form a distinct idea of the motives which produced the dreadful war upon the continent, it will not be amiss to usher the substance of them to the reader's acquaintance. His Prussian Majesty affirms, that to arrive at the source of the vast plan upon which the Courts of Vienna and Saxony had been employed against him ever since the peace of Dresden, we must trace it as far back as the war which preceded this peace: that the fond hopes which the two allied courts had conceived upon the success of the campaign in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, gave occasion to a treaty of eventual partition, stipulating that the court of Vienna should possess the duchy of Silesia and the County of Glatz; while the King of Poland,

Poland, Elector of Saxony, should share the duchies of Magdeburgh and Croissen; the circles of Zullichow and Swibus, together with the Prussian part of Lusatia: that after the peace of Dresden, concluded in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, there was no further room for a treaty of this nature: yet the court of Vienna proposed to that of Saxony a new alliance, in which the treaty of eventual partition should be renewed: but this last thought it necessary, in the first place, to give a greater consistency to their plan, by grounding it upon an alliance between the Empress-Queen and the Czarina. Accordingly, these two powers did, in fact, conclude a defensive alliance at Petersburgh in the course of the ensuing year: but the body, or ostensible part of this treaty, was composed merely with a view to conceal from the knowledge of the publick six secret articles, the fourth of which was levelled singly against Prussia, according to the exact copy of it, which appeared among the documents. In this article, the Empress-Queen of Hungary and Bohemia sets out with a protestation, that she will religiously observe the treaty of Dresden: but explains her real way of thinking upon the subject, a little lower, in the following terms: "If the King "of Prussia should be the first to depart from this "peace, by attacking either her Majesty the Em-"press-Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, or her "Majesty the Empress of Russia, or even the Re-"publick of Poland; in all these cases, the rights "of the Empress-Queen to Silesia, and the county "of Glatz would again take place, and recover "their full effect: the two contracting parties "should mutually assist each other with sixty thou "sand men to atchieve these conquests." The King observes upon this article, that every war which can arise between him and Russia, or the Republick of Poland, would be looked upon as a manifest infraction of the peace of Dresden, and a revival

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revival of the rights of the House of Austria to Silesia; though neither Russia nor the Republick of Poland is at all concerned in the treaty of Dresden; and though the latter, with which the King lived in the most intimate friendship, was not even in alliance with the court of Vienna: that according to the principles of the law of nature, received among all civilized nations, the most the court of Vienna could be authorised to do in such cases, would be to send those succours to her allies which are due to them by treaties, without her having the least pretence on that account, to free herself from the particular engagements subsisting between her and the King: he appealed, therefore, to the judgment of the impartial world, whether in this secret article the contracting powers had kept within the bounds of a defensive alliance; or whether this article did not rather contain a plan of an offensive alliance against the King of Prussia. He affirmed it was obvious, from this article, that the court of Vienna had prepared three pretences for the recovery of Silesia; and that she thought to attain her end, either by provoking the King to commence hostilities against her, or to kindle a war between his Majesty and Russia, by her secret intrigues and machinations; he alledged that the court of Saxony, being invited to accede to this alliance, eagerly accepted the invitation; furnished its ministers at Petersburgh with full powers for that purpose; and ordered them to declare that their master was not only ready to accede to the treaty itself, but also to the secret article against Prussia; and to join in the regulations made by the two courts, provided effectual measures should be taken, as well for the security of Saxony, as for its indemnification and recompence, in proportion to the efforts and progress that might be made: that the court of Dresden declared, if upon any fresh attack from the King of Prussia, the Empress-Queen should, by their assistance, not only

reconquer

reconquer Silesia, and the county of Glatz, but also reduce him within narrow bounds, the King of Poland, as Elector of Saxony, would abide by the partition formerly stipulated between him and the Empress-Queen. He also declared that Count Loss, the Saxon Minister at Vienna, was charged to open a private negociation for settling an eventual partition of the conquest which might be made on Prussia, by laying down, as the basis of it, the treaty of Leipsick, signed on the eighteenth day of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, as would appear by the documents affixed. He owned it had been supposed, through the whole of this negociation, that the King of Prussia should be the aggressor against the court of Vienna; but he insisted, that even in this case the King of Poland could have no right to make conquests on his Prussian Majesty. He likewise acknowledged, that the Court of Saxony had not yet acceded in form to the treaty of Petersburgh; but he observed, its allies were given to understand again and again, that it was ready to accede without restriction, whenever this could be done without risque: and the advantages to be gained should be secured in its favour; circumstances proved by divers authentick documents, particularly by a letter from Count Fleming to Count de Bruhl, informing him that Count Uhlefield had charged him to represent afresh to his court, that they could not take too secure measures against the ambitious views of the King of Prussia; that Saxony, in particular, ought to be cautious, as being the most exposed: that it was of the highest importance to strengthen their old engagements, upon the footing proposed by the late Count de Harrach, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five; a step which might be taken on occasion of his Polish Majesty's accession to the treaty of Petersburgh. The answer of Count Bruhl to this dispatch imported, that the King of Poland was

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not averse to treat in the utmost secrecy with the Court of Vienna about succours, by private and confidential declarations relating to the fourth secret article of the treaty of Petersburgh, on condition of reasonable terms and advantages, which in this case ought to be granted to his Majesty. He quoted other dispatches to prove the unwillingness of his Polish Majesty to declare himself, until the King of Prussia should be attacked, and his forces divided; and that this scruple was admitted by the Allies of Saxony. From these premises he deduced this inference, that the Court of Dresden, without having acceded in form to the treaty of Petersburgh, was not less an accomplice in the dangerous designs which the Court of Vienna had grounded upon this treaty; and that having been dispensed with from a formal concurrence, it had only waited for that moment when it might, without running any great risque, conquer in effect, and share the spoils of its neighbour. In expectation of this period, he said, the Austrian and Saxon ministers laboured in concert and underhand with the more ardour, to bring the *Casus Fœderis* into existence: for it being laid down as a principle in the treaty, that any war whatever between him and Russia would authorise the Empress Queen to take Silesia, there was nothing more to be done but to kindle such a war; for which purpose no method was found more proper than that of embroiling the King with the Empress of Russia; and to provoke that Princess with all sorts of false insinuations, impostures, and the most atrocious calumnies, in laying to his Majesty's charge a variety of designs, sometimes against Russia, and even the person of the Czarina; sometimes views upon Poland, and sometimes intrigues in Sweden. By these and other such contrivances, he affirmed they had kindled the animosity of the Empress to such a degree, that in a council held in the month of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, she had resolved to attack the King of Prussia,

Prussia, without any further discussion, whether he should fall upon any of the Allies of Russia, or one of them should begin with him: a resolution which for that time was frustrated by their want of seamen and magazines; but the preparations were continued under pretence of keeping themselves in a condition to fulfil their engagements, contracted the last subsidiary convention with England; and when all were finished, the storm would fall on the King of Prussia.

§ XV. This is the substance of that famous memorial published by his Prusian Majesty, to which the justifying pieces or authentick documents were annexed; and to which a circumstantial answer was exhibited by the partisans of her Imperial Majesty. Specious reasons may, doubtless, be adduced on either side of almost any dispute, by writers of ingenuity: but, in examining this contest, it must be allowed that both sides adopted illicit practices. The Empress-Queen and the Elector of Saxony had certainly a right to form defensive treaties for their own preservation; and, without all doubt, it was their interest and their duty to secure themselves from the enterprises of such a formidable neighbour: but, at the same time, the contracting parties seem to have carried their views much farther than defensive measures. Perhaps the Court of Vienna considered the cession of Silesia as a circumstance altogether compulsive, and therefore, not binding against the rights of natural equity. She did not at all doubt that the King of Prussia would be tempted by his ambition and great warlike power, to take some step which might be justly interpreted into an infraction of the treaty of Dresden; and in that case she was determined to avail herself of the confederacy she had formed, that she might retrieve the countries she had lost by the unfortunate events of the last war, as well as bridle the dangerous power and disposition of the Prussian Monarch: and, in all probability,

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bability, the King of Poland, over and above the same consideration, was desirous of some indemnification for the last irruption into his electoral dominions, and the great sums he had paid for the subsequent peace. Whether they were authorised by the law of nature and nations to make reprisals by an actual partition of the countries they might conquer, supposing him to be the aggressor, we shall not pretend to determine: but it does not at all appear, that his Prussian Majesty's danger was such as entitled him to take those violent steps which he now attempted to justify. By this time the flame of war was kindled up to a blaze that soon filled the empire with ruin and desolation; and the King of Prussia had drawn upon himself the resentment of the three greatest powers in Europe, who laid aside their former animosities, and every consideration of that balance which it had cost such blood and treasure to preserve, in order to conspire his destruction. The King himself could not but foresee this confederacy, and know the power it might exert: but probably he confided so much in the number, the valour, and discipline of his troops; in the skill of his officers: in his own conduct and activity; that he hoped to crush the House of Austria by one rapid endeavour at the latter end of the season, or at least establish himself in Bohemia, before her allies could move to her assistance. In this hope, however, he was disappointed by the vigilance of the Austrian councils. He found the Empress-Queen in a condition to make head against him in every avenue to her dominions; and in a fair way of being assisted by the circles of the Empire. He saw himself threatened with the vengeance of the Russian Empress, and the sword of France gleaming over his head, without any prospect of assistance but that which he might derive from his alliance with Great-Britain. Thus the King of England exchanged the alliance of Russia, who was his subsidiary, and the friendship of the Empress-

Empress-Queen, his old and natural ally, for a new connection with his Prussian Majesty, who could neither act as an auxiliary to Great-Britain, nor as a protector to Hanover; and for this connection, the advantage of which was merely negative, such a price was paid by England has had never been given by any other Potentate of Europe, even for services of the greatest importance.

§ XVI. About the latter end of November, the Saxon minister at Ratisbon delivered to the Diet a new and ample memorial, explaining the lamentable state of that electorate, and imploring afresh the assistance of the empire. The King of Prussia had also addressed a letter to the Diet, demanding succour of the several States, agreeable to their guarantees of the treaties of Westphalia and Dresden: but the minister of Mentz, as director of the Diet, having refused to lay it before that assembly, the Minister of Brandenburgh ordered it to be printed, and sent to his Court for further instructions. In the mean time his Prussian Majesty thought proper to intimate to the King and Senate of Poland, that should the Russian troops be permitted to march through that kingdom, they might expect to see their country made a scene of war and desolation. In France, the prospect of a general and sanguinary war did not at all allay the disturbance which sprang from the dissension between the clergy and Parliament, touching the bull Unigenitus. The King being again brought over to the ecclesiastical side of the dispute, received a brief from the Pope, laying it down as a fundamental article, that whosoever refuses to submit to the bull Unigenitus is in the way of damnation: and certain cases are specified, in which the sacraments are to be denied. The Parliament of Paris, considering this brief or bull as a direct attack upon the rights of the Gallican church, issued an arret or decree, suppressing the said bull; reserving to themselves the right of providing against the

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the inconveniences with which it might be attended; as well as the privilege to maintain in their full force the prerogatives of the Crown, the power and jurisdiction of the Bishops, the liberties of the Gallican church, and the customs of the realm. The King, dissatisfied with their interposition, declared his design to hold a bed of justice in person at the palace. Accordingly, on the twelfth day of November, the whole body of his guards, amounting to ten thousand men, took post in the city of Paris: and next day the King repaired with the usual ceremony to the palace, where the bed of justice was held: among other regulations, an edict was issued for suppressing the fourth and fifth chambers of inquests, the members of which had remarkably distinguished themselves by their opposition to the bull Unigenitus.

§ XVII. In England, the dearth of corn, arising in a great measure from the iniquitous practice of engrossing, was so severely felt by the common people, that insurrections were raised in Shropshire and Warwickshire by the populace, in conjunction with the colliers, who seized by violence all the provision they could find; pillaging without distinction the millers, farmers, grocers and butchers, until they were dispersed by the gentlemen of the country, at the heads of their tenants and dependants. Disorders of the same nature were excited by the colliers on the forest of Dean, and those employed in the works in Cumberland. The corporations, noblemen, and gentlemen, in different parts of the kingdom, exerted themselves for the relief of the poor, who were greatly distressed; and a grand council being assembled at St. James's on the same subject, a proclamation was published, for putting the laws in speedy and effectual execution against the forestallers and engrossers of corn.

§ XVIII. The fear of an invasion having now subsided, and Hanover being supposed in greater danger

danger than Great-Britain, the auxiliaries of that electorate were transported from England to their own country. At the latter end of the season, when the weather became severe, the innkeepers of England refused to admit the Hessian soldiers into winter quarters, as no provision had been made for that purpose by act of Parliament; so that they were obliged to hut their camp, and remain in the open fields till January: but the rigour of this uncomfortable situation, was softened by the hand of generous charity, which liberally supplied them with all manner of refreshment, and other conveniences; an humane interposition, which rescued the national character from the imputation of cruelty and ingratitude.

§ XIX. On the second day of December, his Majesty opened the session of Parliament with a speech that seemed to be dictated by the genius of England. He expressed his confidence, that, under the guidance of Divine Providence, the union, fortitude, and affection of his people would enable him to surmount all difficulties, and vindicate the dignity of his crown against the ancient enemy of Great-Britain. He declared, that the succour and preservation of America constituted a main object of his attention and solicitude; and observed, that the growing dangers to which the British colonies might stand exposed, from late losses in that country, demanded resolutions of vigour and dispatch. He said, an adequate and firm defence at home should maintain the chief place in his thoughts; and in this great view he had nothing so much at heart as to remove all grounds of dissatisfaction from his people: for this end, he recommended to the care and diligence of the Parliament the framing of a national militia, planned and regulated with equal regard to the just rights of his crown and people; an institution which might become one good resource in time of general danger. He took notice that the unna-

tural union of councils abroad, the calamities which, in consequence of this unhappy conjunction, might, by irruptions of foreign armies into the empire, shake its constitution, overturn its system, and threaten oppression to the Protestant interest on the continent, were events which must sensibly affect the minds of the British nation, and had fixed the eyes of Europe on this new and dangerous crisis. He gave them to understand that the body of his electoral troops, which were brought hither at the desire of his Parliament, he had now directed to return to his dominions in Germany, relying with pleasure on the spirit and zeal of his people, in defence of his person and realm. He told the Commons that he confided in their wisdom for preferring more vigorous efforts, though more expensive, to a less effectual, and therefore less frugal plan of war; that he had placed before them the dangers and necessities of the publick; and it was their duty to lay the burthens they should judge unavoidable in such a manner as would least disturb and exhaust his people. He expressed his concern for the sufferings of the poor, arising from the present dearth of corn, and for the disturbances to which it had given rise; and exhorted his Parliament to consider of proper provisions for preventing the like mischiefs hereafter. He concluded with remarking, that unprosperous events of war in the Mediterranean had drawn from his subjects signal proofs how dearly they tendered the honour of his crown; therefore, they could not, on his part, fail to meet with just returns of unwearied care, and unceasing endeavours for the glory, prosperity, and happiness of his people.

§ XX. The King having retired from the House of Peers, the speech was read by Lord Sandys, appointed to act as Speaker to that House; then Earl Gower moved for an address, which, however, was not carried without objection. In one part of it his Majesty was thanked for having caused a body of electoral

electoral troops to come into England at the request of his Parliament; and this article was disagreeable to those who had disapproved of the request in the last session. They said they wished to see the present address unanimously agreed to by the Lords; a satisfaction they could not have, if such a paragraph should be inserted: for they still thought the bringing over Hanoverian troops a preposterous measure; because it had not only loaded the nation with an enormous expense, but also furnished the Court of France with a plausible pretence for invading the electorate, which otherwise it would have no shadow of reason to attack; besides, the expedient was held in reprobation by the subjects in general, and such a paragraph might be considered as an insult on the people. Notwithstanding these exceptions, which did not seem to be very important, the address, including this paragraph, was approved by a great majority.

§ XXI. In the address of the Commons no such paragraph was inserted. As soon as the Speaker had recited his Majesty's speech, Mr. C. Townshend proposed the heads of an address, to which the House unanimously agreed; and it was presented accordingly. This necessary form was no sooner discussed, than the House, with a warmth of humanity and benevolence, suitable to such an assembly, resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate on that part of his Majesty's speech which related to the dearth of corn that so much distressed the poorer class of people. A bill was immediately framed to prohibit, for a time limited, the exportation of corn, malt, meal, flour, bread, biscuit, and starch; and a resolution unanimously taken to address the Sovereign, that an embargo might be forthwith laid upon all ships laden or to be laden with these commodities to be exported from the ports of Great-Britain and Ireland. At the same time, Vice-Admiral Boscawen, from the Board of Admiralty, informed the

 House,

House, that the King and the Board having been dissatisfied with the conduct of Admiral Byng, in a late action with the French fleet in the Mediterranean, and for the appearance of his not having acted agreeably to his instructions for the relief of Minorca, he was then in custody of the Marshal of the Admiralty, in order to be tried by a court-martial: that although this was no more than what was usual in like cases, yet as Admiral Byng was then a member of the House, and as his confinement might detain him some time from his duty there, the Board of Admiralty thought it a respect due to the House to inform them of the commitment and detainer of the said Admiral. This message being delivered, the journal of the House in relation to Rear-Admiral Knowles* was read, and what Mr. Boscawen now communicated was also inserted.

§ XXII. The committees of supply, and of ways and means, being appointed, took into consideration the necessities of the state, and made very ample provision

* Rear-Admiral Knowles being, in the month of December, one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, tried at Deptford, before a court-martial, for his behaviour in and relating to an action which happened on the first day of October in the preceding year, between a British squadron under his command, and a squadron of Spain, the Court was unanimously of opinion, that the said Knowles, while he was standing for the enemy, might, by a different disposition of his squadron, have begun the attack with six ships as early in the day as four of them were engaged; and that, therefore, by his neglecting so to do, he gave the enemy a manifest advantage; that the said Knowles remained on board the ship Cornwall with his flag, after she was disabled from continuing the action, though he might, upon her being disabled, have shifted his flag on board another ship; and the Court were unanimously of opinion, he ought to have done so, in order to have conducted and directed, during the whole action, the motions of the squadron entrusted to his care and conduct. Upon consideration of the whole conduct of the said Knowles, relating to that action, the Court did unanimously agree that he fell under part of the fourteenth article of the Articles of War, namely, the word Negligence, and no other; and also under the twenty-third article.—The Court, therefore, unanimously adjudged, that he should be reprimanded for not bringing up the squadron in closer order than he did, and not beginning the attack with as great force as he might have done; and also for not shifting his flag, upon the Cornwall's being disabled.

provision for enabling his Majesty to maintain the war with vigour. They granted fifty-five thousand men for the sea-service, including eleven thousand four hundred and nineteen marines; and for the land-service forty-nine thousand seven hundred and forty-nine effective men, comprehending four thousand and eight invalids. The supply was granted for the maintenance of these forces, as well as for the troops of Hesse and Hanover; for the Ordnance; the levy of new regiments; for assisting his Majesty in forming and maintaining an army of observation, for the just and necessary defence and preservation of his electoral dominions, and those of his allies; and towards enabling him to fulfil his engagements with the King of Prussia; for the security of the empire against the eruption of foreign* armies, as well as for the support of the common cause; for building and repairs of ships, hiring transports, payment of half-pay officers, and the pensions of widows; for enabling his Majesty to discharge the like sum, raised in pursuance of an act passed in the last session of Parliament, and charged upon the first aids or supplies to be granted in this session, for enabling the governors and guardians of the hospital for the maintenance and education of exposed and deserted young children to receive all such children, under a certain age, as should be brought to the said hospital within the compass of one year†; for maintaining and supporting the new settlement of Nova-Scotia;

* Nothing could more gloriously evince the generosity of a British Parliament than this interposition for defending the liberties of Germany, in conjunction with two Electors only, against the sense of the other seven, and in direct opposition to the measures taken by the Head of the Empire, who, in the sequel, stigmatized these two Princes as rebels, and treated one of them as an outlaw.

† This charity, established by voluntary contribution, might, under proper restrictions, prove beneficial to the commonwealth, by rescuing deserted children from misery and death, and qualifying them for being serviceable members of the community; but since the liberality of Parliament hath enabled the governors and corporation to receive all the children that are presented, without question or limitation, the yearly expense hath swelled into a national grievance, and the humane purposes

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Scotia; for repairing and finishing military roads; for making good his Majesty's engagement with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; for the expence of marching, recruiting, and remounting German troops in the pay of Great-Britain; for empowering his Majesty to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the service of the ensuing year, and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs should require: for the payment of such persons, in such a manner as his Majesty should direct, for the use and relief of his subjects in the several provinces of North and South Carolina and Virginia, in recompence for such services as, with the approbation of his Majesty's commander in chief in America, they respectively had performed, or should perform, either by putting these provinces in a state of defence, or by acting with vigour against the enemy; for enabling the East-India Company to defray the expence of a military force in their settlements, to be maintained in them, in lieu of a battalion of his Majesty's forces withdrawn from those forts and factories; for the maintenance and support of the forts on the coast of Africa; for widening the avenues, and rendering more safe and commodious the streets and passages leading from Charing-cross to the two Houses of Parliament, the Courts of Justice, and the new Bridge at Westminster*. Such

purposes of the original institution are, in a great measure, defeated. Instead of an asylum for poor forlorn orphans and abandoned foundlings, it is become a general receptacle for the offspring of the dissolute, who care not to work for the maintainance of their families. The hospital itself is a plain edifice, well contrived for œconomy and convenience, standing on the north side of the city, and a little detached from it, in an agreeable and salubrious situation. The hall is adorned with some good paintings, the chapel is elegant, and the regulations are admirable.

* The bridge at Westminster may be considered as a national ornament. It was built at the publick expense, from the neighbourhood

Such were the articles under which we may specify the supplies of this year, on the whole amounting to eight millions three hundred fifty thousand three hundred and twenty-five pounds, nine shillings, and three pence. It must be acknowledged, for the honour of the Administration, that the House of Commons could not have exhibited stronger marks of their attachment to the crown and person of their Sovereign, as well as of their desire to see the force of the nation exerted with becoming spirit. The sums granted by the committee of supply did not exceed eight millions three hundred fifty thousand three hundred twenty-five pounds, nine shillings, and three pence; the funds established amounted to eight millions six hundred eighty-nine thousand fifty-one pounds, nineteen shillings and seven pence; so that there was an overplus of three hundred thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and twenty-six pounds, ten shillings, and four-pence; an excess which was thought necessary, in case the lottery, which was founded on a new plan, should not succeed.

§ XXIII. Some of these impositions were deemed grievous hardships by those upon whom they immediately fell; and many friends of their country exclaimed against the projected army of observation in Germany, as the commencement of a ruinous continental war, which it was neither the interest of the nation to undertake, nor in their power to maintain, without starving the operations by sea, and in America, founded on British principles; without contracting such an additional load of debts and taxes, as could not fail to terminate in bankruptcy and distress. To those dependants of the ministry, who observed that as Hanover was threatened by France for its connection with Great-Britain, it ought, in common gratitude, to be protected, they replied,

hood of Westminster Hall to the opposite side of the river, and consists of thirteen arches, constructed with equal elegance and simplicity.

that

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that every state, in assisting any ally, ought to have a regard to its own preservation: that, if the King of England enjoyed by inheritance, or succession, a province in the heart of France, it would be equally absurd and unjust, in case of a rupture with that kingdom, to exhaust the treasures of Great-Britain in the defence of such a province: and yet the inhabitants of it would have the same right to complain that they suffered for their connection with England. They observed, that other dominions, electorates, and principalities in Germany were secured by the constitutions of the Empire, as well as by fair and equal alliances with their co-estates; whereas Hanover stood solitary, like a hunted deer avoided by the herd, and had no other shelter but that of shrinking under the extended shield of Great-Britain: that the reluctance expressed by the German Princes to undertake the defence of these dominions flowed from a firm persuasion, founded on experience, that England would interpose as a principal, and not only draw her sword against the enemies of the electorate, but concentrate her chief strength in that subject, and waste her treasures in purchasing their concurrence; that exclusive of an ample revenue drained from the sweat of the people, great part of which had been expended in continental efforts, the whole national debt incurred, since the accession of the late King, had been contracted in pursuance of measures totally foreign to the interest of these kingdoms: that, since Hanover was the favourite object, England would save money, and great quantities of British blood, by allowing France to take possession of the electorate, paying its ransom at the peace, and indemnifying the inhabitants for the damage they might sustain; an expedient that would be productive of another good consequence; it would rouse the German princes from their affected indifference, and oblige them to exert themselves with vigour, in order to avoid the

the detested neighbourhood of such an enterprising invader.

§ XXIV. The article of the supply relating to the army of observation took rise from a message signed by his Majesty, and presented by Mr. Pitt, now promoted to the office of Principal Secretary of State; a gentleman who had, upon sundry occasions, combated the gigantick plan of continental connections with all the strength of reason, and all the powers of eloquence. He now imparted to the House an intimation, importing, It was always with reluctance that his Majesty asked extraordinary supplies of his people; but as the united councils, and formidable preparations of France and her allies threatened Europe in general with the most alarming consequence; and as these unjust and vindictive designs were particularly and immediately bent against his Majesty's electoral dominions, and those of his good ally, the King of Prussia, his Majesty confided in the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful Commons, that they would chearfully assist him in forming and maintaining an army of observation, for the just and necessary defence and preservation of those territories, and enable him to fulfil his engagements with his Prussian Majesty, for the security of the Empire against the irruption of foreign armies, and for the support of the common cause. Posterity will hardly believe, that the Emperor and all the Princes of Germany were in a conspiracy against their country, except the King of Prussia, the Elector of Hanover, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and they will, no doubt, be surprized, that Great-Britain, after all the treaties she had made, and the numberless subsidies she had granted, should not have an ally left, except one Prince, so embarrassed in his own affairs, that he could grant her no succour, whatever assistance he might demand. The King's message met with as favourable a reception as he could have desired. It was read in the House of

of Commons, together with a copy of the treaty between his Majesty and the King of Prussia, including the secret and separate article, and the declaration signed on each side by the Plenipotentiaries at Westminster: the request was granted, and the convention approved. With equal readiness did they gratify his Majesty's inclination, signified in another message, delivered on the seventeenth day of May, by Lord Bateman, intimating, That in this critical juncture, emergencies might arise of the utmost importance, and be attended with the most pernicious consequences, if proper means should not be immediately applied to prevent or defeat them; his Majesty was, therefore, desirous that the House would enable him to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the service of the current year; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprizes or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs might require. The committee of supply forthwith granted a very large sum for these purposes, including the charge of German mercenaries. A like message being at the same time communicated to the Upper-House, their Lordships voted a very loyal address upon the occasion; and when the article of supply, which it produced among the Commons, fell under their inspection, they unanimously agreed to it, by way of a clause of appropriation.

§ XXV. We have already observed, that the first bill which the Commons passed in this session, was for the relief of the poor, by prohibiting the exportation of corn; but this remedy not being judged adequate to the evil, another bill was framed, removing, for a limited sime, the duty then payable upon foreign corn and flour imported; as also permitting, for a certain time, all such foreign corn, grain, meal, bread, biscuit, and flour, as had been or should be taken from the enemy, to be landed and expended in the kingdom duty free. In order

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still more to reduce the high price of corn, and to prevent any supply of provisions from being sent to our enemies in America, a third bill was brought in, prohibiting, for a time therein limited, the exportation of corn, grain, meal, malt, flour, bread, biscuit, starch, beef, pork, bacon, or other victual, from any of the British plantations, unless to Great-Britain or Ireland, or from one colony to another. To this act two clauses were added, for allowing those necessaries, mentioned above, to be imported in foreign built ships, and from any State in amity with his Majesty, either into Great-Britain or Ireland; and for exporting from Southampton or Exeter to the Isle of Man, for the use of the inhabitants, a quantity of wheat, barley, oats, meal, or flour, not exceeding two thousand five hundred quarters. The Commons would have still improved their humanity, had they contrived and established some effectual method to punish those unfeeling villains, who, by engrossing and hoarding up great quantities of grain, had created this artificial scarcity, and deprived their fellow creatures of bread, with a view to there own private advantage. Upon a subsequent report of the Committee, the House resolved, that, to prevent the high price of wheat and bread, no spirits should be distilled from wheat for a limited time. While the bill formed on this resolution, was in embryo, a petition was presented to the House by the brewers of London, Westminster, Southwark, and parts adjacent, representing, that, when the resolution passed, the price of malt, which was before too high, immediately rose to such a degree, that the petitioners found themselves utterly incapable of carrying on business at the price malt then bore, occasioned, as they conceived, from an apprehension of the necessity the distillers would be under to make use of the best pale malt, and substitute the best barley in lieu of wheat: that, in such a case, the markets would not be able to supply a sufficient quantity of

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barley for the demands of both professions, besides other necessary uses: they, therefore, prayed, that in regard to the publick revenue, to which the trade of the petitioners so largely contributed, proper measures might be taken for preventing the publick loss, and relieving their particular distress. The House would not lend a deaf ear to a remonstrance in which the revenue was concerned. The members appointed to prepare the bill immediately received instructions to make provision in it to restrain, for a limited time, the distilling of barley, malt, and all grain whatsoever. The bill was framed accordingly, but did not pass without strenuous opposition. To this prohibition it was objected, that there are always large quantities of wheat and barley in the kingdom so much damaged, as to be unfit for any use but the distillery, consequently a restriction of this nature would ruin many farmers, and others employed in the trade of malting. Particular interests, however, must often be sacrificed to the welfare of the community; and the present distress prevailed over the prospect of this disadvantage. If they had allowed any sort of grain to be distilled, it would have been impossible to prevent the distilling of every kind. The prohibition was limited to two months: but at the expiration of that term, the scarcity still continuing, it was protracted by a new bill to the eleventh day of December, with a proviso, empowering his Majesty to put an end to it at any time after the eleventh day of May, if such a step should be judged for the advantage of the kingdom.

§ XXVI. The next bill that engaged the attention of the Commons was a measure of the utmost national importance, though secretly disliked by many individuals of the legislature, who, nevertheless, did not venture to avow their disapprobation. The establishment of a militia was a very popular and desirable object, but attended with numberless difficulties, and a competition of interests which it

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was impossible to reconcile. It had formerly been an inexhaustible source of contention between the Crown and the Commons; but now both apparently concurred in rendering it serviceable to the commonwealth, though some acquiesced in the scheme, who were not at all hearty in its favour. On the fourth day of December, a motion was made for the bill, by Colonel George Townshend, eldest son of Lord Viscount Townshend, a gentleman of courage, sense, and probity; endued with penetration to discern, and honesty to pursue, the real interest of his country, in defiance of power, in contempt of private advantages. Leave being given to bring in a bill for the better ordering of the militia forces in the several counties of England, the task of preparing it was allotted to Mr. Townshend, and a considerable number of the most able members in the House, comprehending his own brother, Mr. Charles Townshend, whose genius shone with distinguished lustre: he was keen, discerning, eloquent, and accurate; possessed a remarkable vivacity of parts, with a surprising solidity of understanding; was a wit without arrogance, a patriot without prejudice, and a courtier without dependence.

§ XXVII. While the militia bill remained under consideration in the House, a petition for a constitutional and well regulated militia was presented by the mayor, jurats, and commonalty of the King's town and parish of Maidstone, in Kent, in common-council assembled. At the same time remonstrances were offered by the protestant dissenting ministers of the three denominations in and about the cities of London and Westminster; by the protestant dissenters of Shrewsbury; the dissenting ministers of Devonshire; the protestant dissenters, being freeholders and burgesses of the town, and county of the town of Nottingham, joined with other inhabitants of the church of England, expressing their apprehension, that, in the bill then depending, it

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might be proposed to enact, that the said Militia should be exercised on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, and praying that no clause for such purpose might pass into a law. Though nothing could be more ridiculously fanatick and impertinent than a declaration of such a scruple against a practice so laudable and necessary, in a country where that day of the week is generally spent in merry-making, riot, and debauchery, the House paid so much regard to the squeamish consciences of those puritanical petitioners, that Monday was pitched upon for the day of exercise to the militia, though on such working days they might be much more profitably employed, both for themselves and their country: and that no religious pretence should be left for opposing the progress and execution of the bill, proper clauses were inserted for the relief of the quakers. Another petition and counter-petition were delivered by the magistrates, freeholders, and burgesses of the town of Nottingham, in relation to their particular franchise, which were accordingly considered in framing the bill.

§ XXVIII. After mature deliberation, and divers alterations, it passed the Lower-House, and was sent to the Lords for their concurrence: here it underwent several amendments, one of which was the reduction of the number of Militia-men to one half of what the Commons had promised; namely, to thirty-two thousand three hundred and forty men for the whole kingdom of England and Wales. The amendments being canvassed in the Lower-House, met with some opposition, and divers conferences with their Lordships ensued: at length, however, the two houses agreed to every article, and the bill soon received the royal sanction. No provision, however, was made for clothes, arms, accoutrements, and pay: had regulations been made for these purposes, the act would have become a money-bill, in which the Lords could have made no amendment:

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in order, therefore, to prevent any difference between the two Houses, on a dispute of privileges not yet determined, and that the House of Peers might make what amendments they should think expedient, the Commons left the expense of the militia to be regulated in a subsequent bill, during the following session, when they could, with more certainty, compute what sum would be necessary for these purposes. After all, the bill seemed to be crude, imperfect, and ineffectual, and the promoters of it were well aware of its defects; but they were apprehensive that it would have been dropped altogether had they insisted upon the scheme's being executed in its full extent. They were eager to seise this opportunity of trying an experiment, which might afterwards be improved to a greater national advantage; and therefore, they acquiesced in many restrictions and alterations, which otherwise would not have been adopted.

§ XXIX. The next measure that fell under the consideration of the House was rendered necessary by the inhospitable perseverance of the publicans and innholders, who conceived themselves not obliged by law to receive or give quarters in their houses to any foreign troops, and accordingly refused admittance to the Hessian auxiliaries, who began to be dreadfully incommoded by the severity of the weather. This objection implying an attack upon the prerogative, the Government did not think fit, at this juncture, to dispute any other way, than by procuring a new law in favour of those foreigners. It was intituled, "A bill to make provision for "quartering the foreign troops now in this king-"dom," prepared by Lord Barrington, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Solicitor-General, and immediately passed without opposition. This step being taken, another bill was brought in, for the regulation of the marine-forces while on shore. This was almost a transcript of the mutiny act, with this

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this material difference: it empowered the Admiralty to grant commissions for holding general courts-martial, and to do every thing, and in the same manner as his Majesty is empowered to do by the usual mutiny-bill; consequently, every clause was adopted without question.

§ XXX. The same favourable reception was given to a bill for the more speedy and effectual recruiting his Majesty's land forces and marines; a law which threw into the hands of many worthless magistrates an additional power of oppressing their fellow-creatures: all justices of the peace, commissioners for the land-tax, magistrates of corporations and boroughs, were empowered to meet by direction of the Secretary at War, communicated in precepts issued by the high sheriffs, or their deputies, within their respective divisions, and at their usual places of meeting, to qualify themselves for the execution of the act: then they were required to appoint the times and places for their succeeding meetings; to issue precepts to the proper officers for these succeeding meetings; and to give notice of the time and place of every meeting to such military officers, as, by notice from the Secretary at War, should be directed to attend that service. The annual bill for preventing mutiny and desertion met with no objections, and indeed contained nothing essentially different from that which had passed in the last session. The next law enacted, was, for further preventing embezzlement of goods and apparel, by those with whom they are entrusted, and putting a stop to the practice of gaming in publick houses. By this bill a penalty was inflicted on pawnbrokers, in a summary way, for receiving goods, knowing them not to be the property of the pledger, and pawned without the authority of the owner*.

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* It was enacted, that persons pawning, exchanging, or disposing of goods, without leave of the owner, should suffer in the penalty of twenty shillings

With respect to gaming, the act ordained, that all publicans suffering journeymen, labourers, servants, or apprentices to game with cards, dice, shuffle-boards, mississippi, or billiard tables, skittles, nine-pins, &c. should forfeit forty shillings for the first offence, and for every subsequent offence ten pounds shall be levied by distress.

§ XXXI. Divers inconveniencies having resulted from the interposition of justices, who, in pursuance of an act of Parliament passed in the present reign, assumed the right of establishing rates for the payment of wages to weavers, several petitions were offered to the House of Commons, representing the evil consequences of such an establishment; and although these arguments were answered and opposed in counter-petitions, the Commons, actuated by a laudable concern for the interest of the woollen manufacture, after due deliberation removed the grievance by a new bill, repealing so much of the former act as empowered Justices of the Peace to make rates for the payment of wages*.—The Commons

shillings; and, on non-payment, be committed for fourteen days to hard labour; afterwards, if the money could not then be paid, to be whipped publickly in the House of correction, or such other place as the justice of the peace should appoint, on publication of the prosecutor: that every pawnbroker should make entry of the person's name and place of abode who pledges any goods with him; and the pledger, if he required it, should have a duplicate of that entry: that a pawnbroker, receiving linen or apparel entrusted to others to be washed or mended, should forfeit double the sum lent upon it, and restore the goods: that upon oath of any person whose goods are unlawfully pawned or exchanged, the justice should issue a warrant to search the suspected person's house; and upon refusal of admittance the officer might break open the door: that goods pawned for any sum not exceeding ten pounds might be recovered within two years, the owner making oath of the pawning, and tendering the principal, interest, and charges: that goods remaining unredeemed for two years should be forfeited and sold, the overplus to be accounted for to the owner on demand.

* It likewise imported, that all contracts or agreements made between clothiers and weavers, in respect to wages, should, from and after the first of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, be valid, notwithstanding any rate established, or to be established; but that these contracts or agreements should extend only to

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Commons were not more forward to provide supplies for prosecuting the war with vigour, than ready to adopt new regulations for the advantage of trade and manufactures. The society of the free British fishery presented a petition, alledging, that they had employed the sum of one hundred thirty thousand three hundred and five pounds, eight shillings, and sixpence, together with the entire produce of their fish, and all the monies arising from the several branches allowed on the tonnage of their shipping, and on the exportation of their fish, in carrying on the said fishery; and that, from their being obliged, in the infancy of the undertaking, to incur a much larger expense than was at that time foreseen, they now found themselves so far reduced in their capital as to be utterly incapable of further prosecuting the fisheries with any hope of success, unless indulged with the further assistance of Parliament. They prayed therefore, that, towards enabling them to carry on the said fisheries, they might have liberty to make use of such nets as they should find best adapted to the said fisheries; each buss, nevertheless, carrying to sea the same quantity and depth of netting, which, by the fishery-acts, they were then bound to carry; that the bounty of thirty shillings per ton, allowed by the said acts on the vessels employed in the fishery, might be increased; and forasmuch as many of the stock-proprietors were unable to advance any further sum for prosecuting this branch of commerce; and others unwilling in the present situation, and under the present restraints, to risque any further sum in the undertaking; that the stock of the society, by the said acts made unalienable, except in case of death or bankruptcy, for a

the actual prices or rates of workmanship or wages, and not to the payment thereof in any other manner than in money; and that if any clothier should refuse or neglect to pay the weaver the wages or price agreed on, in money, within two days after the work should be performed and delivered, the same being demanded, should forfeit forty shillings for every such offence.

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term of years, might forthwith be made transferable; and that the petitioners might be at liberty, between the intervals of the fishing seasons, to employ the busses in such a manner as they should find for the advantage of the society. While the Committee was employed in deliberating on the particulars of this remonstrance, another was delivered from the free British fishery-chamber of Whitehaven in Cumberland, representing, that as the law then stood, they went to Shetland, and returned at a great expence and loss of time; and while the war continued durst not stay there to fish, besides being obliged to run the most imminent risques, by going and returning without convoy: that ever since the institution of the present fishery, experience had fully shown the fishery of Shetland not worth following, as thereby the petitioners had lost two months of a much better fishery in St. George's channel, within one day's sail of Whitehaven: they took notice, that the free British fishery society had applied to the House for further assistance and relief; and prayed that Campbel-town in Argyleshire, might be appointed the place of rendezvous for the busses belonging to Whitehaven, for the summer as well as the winter fishery, that they might be enabled to fish with greater advantage. The Committee, having considered the matter of both petitions, were of opinion that the petitioners should be at liberty to use such nets as they should find best adapted to the white herring-fishery: that the bounty of thirty shillings per ton should be augmented to fifty: that the petitioners should be allowed, during the intervals of the fishing seasons, to employ their vessels in any other lawful business, provided they should have been employed in the herring-fishery during the proper seasons: that they might use such barrels for packing the fish as they then used, or might hereafter find best adapted for that purpose: that they should have liberty to make use of any waste or un-

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cultivated land, one hundred yards at the least above high-water mark, for the purpose of drying their nets: and that Campbel-town would be the most proper and convenient place for the rendezvous of the busses belonging to Whitehaven. This last resolution, however, was not inserted in the bill which contained the other five, and in a little time received the royal assent.

§ XXXII. Such are the connexions, dependencies, and relations subsisting between the mechanical arts, agriculture, and manufactures of Great-Britain, that it requires study, deliberation, and enquiry in the legislature to discern and distinguish the whole scope and consequences of many projects offered for the benefit of the commonwealth. The society of merchant-adventurers in the city of Bristol alledged, in a petition to the House of Commons, that great quantities of bar-iron were imported into Great-Britain from Sweden, Russia, and other parts, chiefly purchased with ready money, some of which iron was exported again to Africa and other places: and the rest wrought up by the manufacturers. They affirmed that bar-iron, imported from North-America, would answer the same purposes; and the importation of it tend not only to the great advantage of the kingdom, by increasing its shipping and navigation, but also to the benefit of the British colonies: that by an act passed in the twenty-third year of his present Majesty's reign, the importation of bar-iron from America into the port of London, duty free, was permitted; but its being carried coastways, or farther by land than ten miles, had been prohibited; so that several very considerable manufacturing towns were deprived of the use of American iron, and the out-ports prevented from employing it in their export commerce: they requested, therefore, that bar-iron might be imported from North-America into Great-Britain, duty free, by all his Majesty's subjects. This re-

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quest being reinforced by many other petitions from different parts of the kingdom, other classes of men, who thought several interests would be affected by such a measure, took the alarm; and, in divers counter-petitions, specified many ill consequences which they alledged would arise from its being enacted into a law. Pamphlets were published on both sides of the question, and violent disputes were kindled upon this subject, which was justly deemed a matter of national importance. The opposers of the bill observed, that large quantities of iron were yearly produced at home, and employed multitudes of poor people, there being no less than one hundred and nine forges in England and Wales, besides those erected in Scotland, the whole producing eighteen thousand tons of iron: that as the mines in Great-Britain are inexhaustible, the produce would of late years have been considerably increased, had not the people been kept under continual apprehension of seeing American iron admitted duty free; a supposition which had prevented the traders from extending their works, and discouraged many from engaging in this branch of traffick; they alledged that the iron works, already carried on in England, occasioned a consumption of one hundred and ninety-eight thousand cords of wood, produced in coppices that grow upon barren lands, which could not otherwise be turned to any good account: that as the coppices afford shade, and preserve a moisture in the ground, the pasture is more valuable with the wood, than it would be if the coppices were grubbed up; consequently all the estates, where these now grow, would sink in their yearly value: that these coppices, now cultivated and preserved for the use of the iron-works, are likewise absolutely necessary for the manufacture of leather, as they furnish bark for the tanners; and that, according to the management of these coppices, they produced a great number of timber trees, so necessary for the purposes

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purposes of building. They asserted, that neither the American iron, nor any that had yet been found in Great-Britain, was so proper for converting into steel as that which comes from Sweden, particularly that sort called ore ground; but as there are mines in the northern parts of Britain, nearly in the same latitude with those of Sweden, furnished with sufficient quantities of wood, and rivers for mills and engines, it was hardly to be doubted but that people would find metal of the same quality, and, in a few years, be able to prevent the necessity of importing iron either from Sweden or Russia. They inferred that American iron could never interfere with that which Great-Britain imported from Sweden, because it was not fit for edged tools, anchors, chain-plates, and other particulars necessary in ship-building; nor diminish the importation of Russian iron, which was not only harder than the American and British, but also could be afforded cheaper than that brought from our own plantations, even though the duty of this last should be removed. The importation of American iron, therefore, duty free, could interfere with no other sort but that produced in Britain, with which, by means of this advantage, it would clash so much, as to put a stop in a little time to all the iron works now carried on in the kingdom, and reduce to beggary a great number of families whom they support. To these objections the favourers of the bill solicited replied, that when a manufacture is much more valuable than the rough materials, and these cannot be produced at home in sufficient quantities, and at such a price as is consistent with the preservation of the manufacture, it is the interest of the legislature to admit a free importation of these materials, even from foreign countries, although it should put an end to the production of that material in this island: that as the neighbours of Great-Britain are now more attentive than ever to their commercial interests, and endeavouring

vouring to manufacture their rough materials at home, this nation must take every method for lowering the price of materials, otherwise in a few years it will lose the manufacture; and, instead of supplying other countries, be furnished by them with all the fine toys and utensils made of steel and iron: that being in danger of losing not only the manufacture but the produce of iron, unless it can be procured at a cheaper rate than that for which it is sold at present, the only way of attaining this end, is by diminishing the duty payable upon the importation of foreign iron, or by rendering it necessary for the undertakers of the iron mines in Great-Britain to sell their produce cheaper than it has been for some years afforded: that the most effectual method for this purpose is to raise up a rival, by permitting a free importation of all sorts of iron from the American plantations: that American iron can never be sold so cheap as that of Britain can be afforded; for, in the colonies, labour of all kinds is much dearer than in England: if a man employs his own slaves, he must reckon in his charge a great deal more than the common interest of their purchase-money, because, when one of them dies, or escapes from his master, he loses both interest and principal: that the common interest of money in the plantations is considerably higher than in England, consequently no man in that country will employ his money in any branch of trade by which he cannot gain considerably more per cent. than is expected in Great-Britain, where the interest is low, and profit moderate; a circumstance which will always give a great advantage to the British miner, who likewise enjoys an exemption from freight and insurance, which lie heavy upon the American Adventurer, especially in time of war. With respect to the apprehension of the leather tanners, they observed, that as the coppices generally grew on barren lands, not fit for tillage, and improved the pasturage, no proprietor would

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would be at the expence of grubbing up the wood to spoil the pasture, as he could make no other use of the land on which it was produced. The wood must be always worth something, especially in counties where there is not plenty of coal, and the timber trees would produce considerable advantage: therefore, if there was not one iron mine in Great-Britain, no coppices would be grubbed up, unless it grew on a rich soil, which would produce corn instead of cord wood; consequently, the tanners have nothing to fear, especially as planting hath become a prevailing taste among the landholders of the island. The Committee appointed to prepare the bill seriously weighed and canvassed these arguments, examined disputed facts, and inspected papers and accounts relating to the produce, importation, and manufactory of iron. At length Mr. John Pitt reported to the House their opinion, implying that the liberty granted by an act passed in the twenty-third year of his Majesty's reign, of importing bar iron from the British colonies in America into the port of London, should be extended to all the other ports of Great-Britain; and that so much of that act as related to this clause should be repealed. The House having agreed to these resolutions, and the bill being brought in accordingly, another petition was presented by several noblemen, gentlemen, freeholders, and other proprietors, owners, and possessors of coppices and woodlands, in the West-riding of Yorkshire, alledging, that a permission to import American bar-iron duty free, would be attended with numberless ill consequences both of a publick and private nature; specifying certain hardships to which they in particular would be exposed; and praying, that, if the bill should pass, they might be relieved from the pressure of an act passed in the reign of Henry VIII. obliging the owners of coppice-woods to preserve them, under severe penalties; and be permitted to fell

fell and grub up their coppice-woods, in order to a more proper cultivation of the soil, without being restrained by the fear of malicious and interested prosecutions. In consequence of this remonstrance, a clause was added to the bill, repealing so much of the act of Henry the Eighth as prohibited the conversion of coppice or underwoods into pasture or tillage; then it passed through both Houses, and received the royal sanction. As there was not time, after this affair came upon the carpet, to obtain any new accounts from America, and as it was thought necessary to know the quantities of iron made in that country, the House presented an address to his Majesty, desiring he would be pleased to give directions that there should be laid before them, in the next Session of Parliament, an account of the quantity of iron made in the American colonies, from Christmas, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, to the fifth day of January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, each year being distinguished.

§ XXXIII. From this important object, the Parliament converted its attention to a regulation of a much more private nature. In consequence of a petition by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, a bill was brought in, and passed into a law without opposition, for the more effectual preservation and improvement of the fry and spawn of fish in the river Thames, and waters of Medway, and for the better regulating the fishery in those rivers. The two next measures taken for the benefit of the publick were, first a bill to render more effectual the several laws then in being, for the amendment and preservation of the highways and turnpike roads of the kingdom; the other for the more effectually preventing the spreading of the contagious distemper which, at that time, raged among the horned cattle. A third arose from the distress of poor silk manufacturers, who were desti-

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tute of employment, and deprived of all means of subsisting, through the interruption of the Levant trade, occasioned by war, and the delay of the merchant ships from Italy. In order to remedy this inconvenience, a bill was prepared, enacting, that any persons might import from any place, in any ship or vessel whatsoever, till the first day of December, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, organzine thrown silk of the growth or production of Italy, to be brought to the Custom-House of London, wheresoever landed: but that no Italian thrown silk, coarser than Bologna, nor any tram of the growth of Italy, nor any other thrown silk of the growth or production of Turkey, Persia, East-India, or China, should be imported by this act, under the penalty of the forfeiture thereof. Notwithstanding several petitions, presented by the merchants, owners, and commanders of ships, and others trading to Leghorn, and other ports of Italy, as well as by the importers and manufacturers of raw silks, representing the evil consequences that would probably attend the passing of such a bill, the Parliament agreed to this temporary deviation from the famous act of navigation, for a present supply to the poor manufacturers.

§ XXXIV. The next civil regulation established in this session of Parliament was in itself judicious, and, had it been more eagerly suggested, might have been much more beneficial to the publick. In order to discourage the practice of smuggling, and prevent the desperadoes concerned therein from inlisting in the service of the enemy, a law was passed, enacting, that every person who had been, before the first of May in the present year, guilty of illegal running, concealing, receiving, or carrying any wool, or prohibited goods, or any foreign commodities liable to duties, the same not having been paid or secured; or of aiding therein, or had been found with fire-arms or weapons, in order to be aiding to

such offenders; or had been guilty of receiving such goods after seizure; or of any act whatsoever, whereby persons might be deemed runners of foreign goods; or of hindering, wounding, or beating any officer in the execution of his duty, or assisting therein, should be indemnified from all such offences, concerning which no suit should then have been commenced, or composition made, on condition that he should, before being apprehended or prosecuted, and before the first day of December, enter himself with some commissioned officer of his Majesty's fleet, to serve as a common sailor; and should, for three years from such entry, unless sooner fully discharged, actually serve and do duty in that station, and register his name, &c. with the clerk of the peace of the county where he resided, as the act prescribes. An attempt was made in favour of the seamen employed in the navy, who had been very irregularly paid, and subject to grievous hardships in consequence of this irregularity; Mr. Grenville, brother to Earl Temple, moved for leave to bring in a bill for the encouragement of seamen employed in his Majesty's navy, and for establishing a regular method for the punctual, speedy, and certain payment of their wages, as well as for rescuing them from the arts of fraud and imposition. The proposal was corroborated by divers petitions; the bill was prepared, read, printed, and, after it had undergone some amendment, passed into the House of Lords, where it was encountered with several objections, and dropped for this Session of Parliament.

§ XXXV. The House of Commons being desirous of preventing, for the future, such distresses as the poor had lately undergone, appointed a Committee to consider of proper provisions to restrain the price of corn and bread within due bounds for the future. For this purpose they were empowered to send for persons, papers, and records; and it was resolved,

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resolved, that all who attended the Committee should have voices. Having enquired into the causes of the late scarcity, they agreed to several resolutions, and a bill was brought in to explain and amend the laws against regraters, forestallers, and engrossers of corn. The Committee also received instructions to enquire into the abuses of millers, mealmen, and bakers, with regard to bread, and to consider of proper methods to prevent them in the sequel; but no further progress was made in this important affair, which was the more interesting, as the lives of individuals, in a great measure, depended upon a speedy reformation; for the millers and bakers were said to have adulterated their flour with common whiting, lime, bone-ashes, alum, and other ingredients pernicious to the human constitution; a consummation of villany for which no adequate punishment could be inflicted. Among the measures proposed in Parliament which did not succeed, one of the most remarkable was a bill prepared by Mr. Rose Fuller, Mr. Charles Townshend. and Mr. Banks, to explain, amend, and render more effectual a law passed in the reign of King William the Third, intituled, "An act to punish governors of plantations, in this "kingdom, for crimes committed by them in the "plantation." This bill was proposed in consequence of some complaints, specifying acts of cruelty, folly, and oppression, by which some British governors had been lately distinguished; but, before the bill could be brought in, the Parliament was prorogued.

§ XXXVI. But no step taken by the House of Commons in the course of this session, was more interesting to the body of the people than the enquiry into the loss of Minorca, which had excited such loud and universal clamour. By addresses to the King, unanimously voted, the Commons requested that his Majesty would give directions for laying before them copies of all the letters and papers containing any intelligence received by the

Secretaries

Secretaries of State, the Commissioners of the Admiralty, or any others of his Majesty's Ministers, in relation to the equipment of the French fleet at Toulon, or the designs of the French on Minorca, or any other of his Majesty's possessions in Europe, since the first day of January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, to the first day of August, 1756. They likewise desired to peruse a list of the ships of war that were equipped and made ready for sea, from the first of August, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, to the thirtieth day of April, in the following year; with the copies of all sailing orders sent to the commanders during that period; as also the state and condition of his Majesty's ships in the several ports of Great-Britain at the time of Admiral Byng's departure, with the squadron under his command, for the relief of Fort St. Philip, during the period of time above-mentioned, according to the monthly returns made by the Admiralty, with the number of seamen mustered and borne on board the respective ships. They demanded copies of all orders and instructions given to that Admiral, and of letters written to and received from him, during his continuance in that command, either by the Secretaries of State, or Lords of the Admiralty, relating to the condition of his squadron, and to the execution of his orders. In a word, they required the inspection of all papers, which could, in any manner, tend to explain the loss of Minorca, and the miscarriage of Mr. Byng's squadron. His Majesty complied with every article of their requests: the papers were presented to the House, ordered to lie upon the table for the perusal of the members, and finally referred to the consideration of a Committee of the whole House. In the course of their deliberations they addressed his Majesty for more information, till at length the truth seemed to be smothered under such an enormous burthen of papers, as the efforts of a whole

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whole session could not have properly removed. Indeed, many discerning persons without doors began to despair of seeing the mystery unfolded, as soon as the enquiry was undertaken by a Committee of the whole House. They observed, that an affair of such a dark, intricate, and suspicious nature, ought to have been referred to a select and secret Committee, chosen by ballot, empowered to send for persons, papers, and records, and to examine witnesses in the most solemn and deliberate manner: that the names of the Committee ought to have been published for the satisfaction of the people, who could have judged, with some certainty, whether the enquiry would be carried on with such impartiality as the national misfortune required. They suspected that this reference to a Committee of the whole House was a mal-contrivance, to prevent a regular and minute investigation, to introduce confusion and contest, to puzzle, perplex, and obumbrate; to tease, fatigue, and disgust the enquirers, that the examination might be hurried over in a superficial and perfunctory manner: and the ministry, from this anarchy and confusion of materials, half explored and undigested, derive a general parliamentary approbation, to which they might appeal from the accusations of the people. A select Committee would have probably examined some of the clerks of the respective offices, that they might certainly know whether any letters or papers had been suppressed, whether the extracts had been faithfully made, and whether there might not be papers of intelligence, which, though proper to be submitted to a select and secret Committee, could not, consistently with the honour of the nation, be communicated to a Committee of the whole House. Indeed it does not appear that the ministers had any foreign intelligence or correspondence that could be much depended upon in any matter of national importance, and no evidence was examined on the occasion; a

circumstance

circumstance the less to be regretted, as, in times past, evil ministers have generally found means to render such enquiries ineffectual; and the same arts would at any rate, have operated with the same efficacy, had a secret Committee been employed at this juncture. Be that as it may, several resolutions were reported from the Committee, though some of them were not carried by the majority without violent dispute and severe altercation. The first and last of their resolutions require particular notice. By the former, it appeared to the Committee, that his Majesty, from the twenty-seventh day of August, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, to the twentieth day of April in the succeeding year, received such repeated and concurrent intelligence, as gave just reason to believe that the French King intended to invade his dominions of Great-Britain or Ireland. In the latter they declared their opinion, that no greater number of ships of war could be sent into the Mediterranean, than were actually sent thither under the command of Admiral Byng; nor any greater reinforcement than the regiment which was sent, and the detachment, equal to a battalion, which was ordered to the relief of Fort St. Philip, consistently with the state of the navy, and the various services essential to the safety of his Majesty's dominions, and the interests of his subjects. It must have been something more powerful than ordinary conviction that suggested these opinions. Whatever reports might have been circulated by the French ministry, in order to amuse, intimidate, and detach the attention of the English government from America and the Mediterranean, where they really intended to exert themselves, yet, the circumstances of the two nations being considered, one would think there could have been no just grounds to fear an invasion of Great-Britain or Ireland, especially when other intelligence seemed to point out much more probable scenes of action.

But

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But the last resolution is still more incomprehensible to those who know not exactly the basis on which it was raised. The number of ships of war in actual commission amounted to two hundred and fifty; having on board fifty thousand seamen and marines. Intelligence and repeated information of the French design upon Minorca had been conveyed to the Ministry of England, about six months before it was put in execution. Is it credible, that in all this time the nation could not equip or spare above eleven ships of the line and six frigates, to save the important island of Minorca? Is it easy to conceive, that from a standing army of fifty thousand men, one regiment of troops could not have been detached to reinforce a garrison, well known to be insufficient for the works it was destined to defend? To persons of common intellects it appeared, that intelligence of the armament at Toulon was conveyed to the Admiralty as early as the month of September, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty five, with express notice that it would consist of twelve ships of the line; that the design against Minorca was communicated as early as the twenty-seventh day of August, by Consul Banks, of Carthagena; confirmed by letters from Consul Bertes, at Genoa, dated on the seventeenth and twenty-sixth of January, and received by Mr. Fox, Secretary of State, on the fourth and eleventh of February, as well as by many subsequent intimations; that, notwithstanding these repeated advices, even after hostilities had commenced in Europe, when the garrison of Minorca amounted to no more than four incomplete regiments, and one company of artillery, forty-two officers being absent, and the place otherwise unprovided for a siege, when the Mediterranean squadron, commanded by Mr. Edgecumbe, consisted of two ships of the line, and five frigates; neither stores, ammunition, or provision, the absent officers belonging to the garrison, recruits for the regiments,

regiments, though ready raised, miners nor any additional troops, were sent to the island, nor the squadron augmented, till Admiral Byng sailed from Spithead on the sixth day of April, with no more ships of the line than, by the most early and authentick intelligence the government were informed would sail from Toulon, even when Mr. Byng should have been joined by Commodore Edgecumbe; a junction upon which no dependance ought to have been laid; that this squadron contained no troops but such as belonged to the four regiments in garrison, except one battalion to serve in the fleet as marines, unless we include the order for another to be embarked at Gibraltar; which order was neither obeyed nor understood: that, considering the danger to which Minorca was exposed, and the forwardness of the enemy's preparations at Toulon, Admiral Osborne, with thirteen ships of the line and one frigate, who returned on the sixteenth of February, after having convoyed a fleet of merchant-ships, might have been detached to Minorca, without hazarding the coast of Great-Britain; for at that time, exclusive of this squadron, there were eight ships of the line and thirty-two frigates ready manned, and thirty-two ships of the line and five frigates almost equipped; that Admiral Hawke was sent with fourteen ships of the line and one frigate to cruise in the bay of Biscay, after repeated intelligence had been received that the French fleet had sailed for the West-Indies, and the eleven ships remaining at Brest and Rochefort were in want of hands and cannon, so that they could never serve to cover any embarkation or descent, consequently Mr. Hawke's squadron might have been spared for the relief of Minorca: that instead of attending to this important object, the Admiralty, on the eighth day of March, sent two ships of the line and three frigates to intercept a coasting convoy off Cape

 Barfleur:

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Barfleur: on the eleventh of the same month they detached two ships of the line to the West-Indies, and on the nineteenth two more to North-America, where they could be of little immediate service; on the twenty-third two of the line and three frigates a convoy-hunting off Cherbourg; and on the first of April five ships of the line, including three returned from this last service, to reinforce Sir Edward Hawke, already too strong for the French fleet bound to Canada: that all these ships might have been added to Mr. Byng's squadron, without exposing Great-Britain or Ireland to any hazard of invasion: that at length Mr. Byng was detached with ten great ships only, and even denied a frigate to repeat signals, for which he petitioned; although at that very time there was in port, exclusive of his squadron, seventeen ships of the line and thirteen frigates ready for sea, besides eleven of the line and nineteen frigates almost equipped. From these and other circumstances, particularised and urged with great vivacity, many individuals inferred, that a greater number of ships might have been detached to the Mediterranean than were actually sent with Admiral Byng: that the not sending an earlier and stronger force was one great cause of Minorca's being lost, and co-operated with the delay of the ministry in sending thither reinforcements of troops, their neglect in suffering the officers of the garrison to continue absent from their duty, and their omitting to give orders for raising miners to serve in the fortress of Mahon.

§ XXXVII. The next enquiry in which the House of Commons engaged, related to the tracts for victualling the forces in America, which were supposed by some patriots to be fraudulent and unconscionable. This suspicion arose from an ambiguous expression, on which the contractor being interrogated by the Committee appointed to examine the

the particulars, he prudently interpreted it in such a manner as to screen himself from the resentment of the Legislature. The House, therefore, resolved that the contract entered into on the twenty-sixth day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, by the Commissioners of the Treasury, with William Baker, Christopher Kilby, and Richard Baker of London, merchants, for furnishing provisions to the forces under the command of the Earl of Loudoun, was prudent and necessary, and properly adapted to the securing a constant and effectual supply for those forces in America.

§ XXXVIII. The preceding session an address had been presented to the King by the House of Commons, desiring his Majesty would give orders for laying before them several papers relating to disputes which had lately happened between his Excellency Charles Knowles, Esq. and some of the principal inhabitants of the Island of Jamaica. This Governor was accused of many illegal, cruel, and arbitrary acts, during the course of his administration: but these imputations he incurred by an exertion of power, which was in itself laudable, and well intended for the commercial interest of the island. This was his changing the seat of Government, and procuring an act of assembly for removing the several laws, records, books, papers, and writings belonging to several offices in that island, from Spanish-town to Kingston; and for obliging the several officers, to keep their offices, and hold a supreme Court of Judicature, at this last place, to which he had moved the seat of Government. Spanish-town, otherwise called St. Jago de la Vega, the old capital, was an inconsiderable inland place, of no security, trade, or importance; whereas, Kingston was the centre of commerce, situated on the side of a fine harbour filled with ships, well secured from the in-

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sults of any enemy, large, wealthy, and flourishing. Here the merchants dwell, and ship the greatest part of the sugars that grow upon the island. They found it extremely inconvenient and expensive to take out their clearances at Spanish-town, which stands at a considerable distance; and the same inconvenience and expence being felt by the rest of the inhabitants, who had occasion to prosecute suits at law, or attend the assembly of the island, they joined in representations to the Governor, requesting, that, in consideration of these inconveniences, added to that of the weakness of Spanish-town and the importance of Kingston, the seat of Government might be removed. He complied with their request, and in so doing entailed upon himself the hatred and resentment of certain powerful planters, who possessed estates in and about the old town of St. Jago de la Vega, thus deserted. This seems to have been the real source of the animosity and clamour incurred by Mr. Knowles, against whom a petition, signed by nineteen members of the assembly, had been sent to England, and presented to his Majesty. In the two sessions preceding this year the affair had been brought into the House of Commons, where this Governor's character was painted in frightful colours, and divers papers relating to the dispute were examined. Mr. Knowles having by this time returned to England, the subject of his administration was revived, and referred to a Committee of the whole House. In the mean time, petitions were presented by several merchants of London and Liverpool, concerned in the trade to Jamaica, alledging, that the removal of the publick courts, offices, and records of the island of Jamaica to Kingston, and fixing the seat of government there, had been productive of many important advantages, by rendering the strength of the island more formidable, the property of the traders and inhabitants more

more secure, and the prosecution of all commercial business more expeditious and less expensive than formerly; therefore, praying that the purposes of the act passed in Jamaica for that end might be carried into effectual execution, in such manner as the House should think proper. The Committee having examined a great number of papers, agreed to some resolutions, importing, that a certain resolution of the assembly of Jamaica, dated on the twenty-ninth day of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, implying a claim of right in that assembly to raise and apply publick money without the consent of the Governor and Council, was illegal, repugnant to the terms of his Majesty's commission to his Governor of the said island, and derogatory of the rights of the crown and people of Great-Britain: that the last six resolutions taken in the assembly of Jamaica, on the twenty-ninth day of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, proceeded on a manifest misapprehension of the King's instruction to his Governor, requiring him not to give his assent to any bill of an unusual or extraordinary nature and importance, wherein his Majesty's prerogative, or the property of his subjects, might be prejudiced, or the trade or shipping of the kingdom any ways affected, unless there should be a clause inserted, suspending the execution of such bill until his Majesty's pleasure should be known; that such instruction was just and necessary, and no alteration of the constitution of the island, nor any way derogatory to the rights of the subjects in Jamaica. From these resolutions the reader may perceive the nature of the dispute which had arisen between the people of Jamaica and their Governor, Vice-Admiral Knowles, whose conduct on this occasion seems to have been justified by the legislature. The Parliament, however, forebore to determine the question, whether the removal of the Courts of Judicature

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Judicature from Spanish-town to Kingston was a measure calculated for the interest of the island in general.

§ XXXIX. The last subject which we shall mention as having fallen under the cognizance of the Commons during this session of Parliament, was the state of Milford-haven on the coast of Wales, one of the most capacious, safe, and commodious harbours in Great-Britain. Here the country affords many conveniences for building ships of war, and erecting forts, docks, quays, and magazines. It might be fortified at a very small expence, so as to be quite secure from any attempts of the enemy, and rendered by far the most useful harbour in the kingdom for fleets, cruisers, trading ships, and packet-boats, bound to and from the westward; for from hence they may put to sea almost with any wind, and even at low water: they may weather Scilly and Cape Clear when no vessel can stir from the British channel, or out of the French ports of Brest and Rochefort, and as a post can travel from hence in three days to London, it might become the centre of very useful sea intelligence. A petition from several merchants in London was presented, and recommended to the House in a message from the King, specifying the advantages of this harbour, and the small expence at which it might be fortified, and praying that the House would take this important subject into consideration. Accordingly, a Committee was appointed for this purpose, with power to send for persons, papers, and records; and every circumstance relating to it was examined with accuracy and deliberation. At length the report being made to the House by Mr. Charles Townshend, they unanimously agreed to an address, representing to his Majesty, that many great losses had been sustained by the trade of the kingdom, in time of war, from the want of a safe harbour on the western coast

coast of the island, for the reception and protection of merchant ships, and sending out cruisers: that the harbour of Milford-haven, in the county of Pembroke, is most advantageously situated, and if properly defended and secured, in every respect adapted to the answering those important purposes: they, therefore, humbly besought his Majesty, that he would give immediate directions for erecting batteries, with proper cover, on the sides of the said harbour, in the most convenient places for guarding the entrance called Hubberstone-road, and also such other fortifications as might be necessary to secure the interior parts of the harbour, and that, until such batteries and fortifications could be completed, some temporary defence might be provided for the immediate protection of the ships and vessels lying in the said harbour; finally, they assured him the House would make good to his Majesty all such expences as should be incurred for these purposes. The address met with a gracious reception, and a promise that such directions should be given. The harbour was actually surveyed, the places were pitched upon for batteries, and the estimates prepared, but no further progress has since been made.

§ XL. We have now finished the detail of all the material transactions of this session, except what relates to the fate of Admiral Byng, which now claims our attention. In the mean time, we may observe, that on the fourth day of July the session was closed with his Majesty's harangue, the most remarkable and pleasing paragraph of which turned upon his royal assurance, that the succour and preservation of his dominions in America had been his constant care, and, next to the security of his kingdoms, should continue to be his great and principal object. He told them he had taken such measures as, he trusted, by the blessing of God, might effectually disappoint the designs of the enemy in those parts; that he had no further view but to vindicate the just rights of

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his crown and subjects from the most injurious encroachments; to preserve tranquillity, as far as the circumstances of things might admit; to prevent the true friends of Britain, and the liberties of Europe from being oppressed and endangered by any unprovoked and unnatural conjunction.

§ XLI. Of all the transactions that distinguished this year, the most extraordinary was the sentence executed on Admiral Byng, the son of that great officer who had acquired such honour by his naval exploits in the preceding reign, and was ennobled for his services by the title of Lord Viscount Torrington. His second son, John Byng, had from his earliest youth been trained to his father's profession; and was generally esteemed one of the best officers in the navy, when he embarked in that expedition to Minorca, which covered his character with disgrace, and even exposed him to all the horrors of an ignominious death. On the twenty-eighth day of December his trial began before a Court-Martial, held on board the ship St. George, in the harbour of Portsmouth, to which place Mr. Byng had been conveyed from Greenwich by a party of horse-guards, and insulted by the populace in every town and village through which he passed. The court having proceeded to examine the evidences for the crown and the prisoner, from day to day, in the course of a long sitting, agreed unanimously to thirty-seven resolutions, implying their opinion, that Admiral Byng, during the engagement between the British and French fleets, on the twentieth day of May last, did not do his utmost endeavour to take, seize, and destroy the ships of the French King, which it was his duty to have engaged, and to assist such of his Majesty's ships as were engaged, which it was his duty to have assisted; and that he did not exert his utmost power for the relief of St. Philip's-castle. They, therefore, unanimously agreed that he fell

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under part of the twelfth article of an act of Parliament passed in the twenty-second year of the present reign, for amending, explaining, and reducing into one act of Parliament, the laws relating to the government of his Majesty's ships, vessels, and forces by sea; and as that article positively prescribed death, without any alternative left to the discretion of the court under any variation of circumstances, they unanimously adjudged the said Admiral John Byng to be shot to death, at such time, and on board of such ship, as the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty should please to direct. But as it appeared, by the evidence of the officers who were near the Admiral's person, that no backwardness was perceivable in him during the action, nor any mark of fear or confusion either in his countenance or behaviour; but that he delivered his orders coolly and distinctly, without seeming deficient in personal courage; and, from other circumstances, they believed his misconduct did not arise either from cowardice or disaffection, they unanimously and earnestly recommended him as a proper object of mercy. The Admiral himself behaved through the whole trial with the most cheerful composure, seemingly the effect of conscious innocence, upon which, perhaps, he too much relied. Even after he had heard the evidence examined against him, and finished his own defence, he laid his account in being honourably acquitted; and ordered his coach to be ready for conveying him directly from the tribunal to London. A gentleman, his friend, by whom he was attended, having received intimation of the sentence to be pronounced, thought it his duty to prepare him for the occasion, that he might summon all his fortitude to his assistance, and accordingly made him acquainted with the information he had received. The Admiral gave tokens of surprise and resentment, but betrayed no marks of fear or disorder, either then or in the court when the sentence was pronounced. On the contrary,

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contrary, while divers members of the court-martial manifested grief anxiety, and trepidation, shedding tears, and sighing with extraordinary emotion, he heard his doom denounced without undergoing the least alteration of feature, and made a low obeisance to the president and the other members of the court, as he retired.

§ XLII. The officers who composed this tribunal were so sensible of the law's severity, that they unanimously subscribed a letter to the board of Admiralty, containing this remarkable paragraph:— "We cannot help laying the distresses of our minds "before your lordships on this occasion, in finding "ourselves under necessity of condemning a man "to death, from the great severity of the twelfth "article of war, part of which he falls under, "which admits of no mitigation if the crime should "be committed by an error in judgment; and, "therefore, for our own consciences sake, as well "as in justice to the prisoner, we pray your lord-"ships, in the most earnest manner, to recommend "him to his Majesty's clemency." The Lords of the Admiralty, instead of complying with the request of the court-martial, transmitted their letter to the King, with copies of their proceedings, and a letter from themselves to his Majesty, specifying a doubt with regard to the legality of the sentence, as the crime of negligence, for which the Admiral had been condemned, was not expressed in any part of the proceedings. At the same time, copies of two petitions from George Lord Viscount Torrington, in behalf of his kinsman Admiral Byng, were submitted to his Majesty's royal wisdom and determination. All the friends and relations of the unhappy convict employed and exerted their influence and interest for his pardon; and as the circumstances had appeared so strong in his favour it was supposed that the sceptre of royal mercy would be

be extended for his preservation: but infamous arts were used to whet the savage appetite of the populace for blood. The cry of vengeance was loud throughout the land; sullen clouds of suspicion and malevolence interposing, were said to obstruct the genial beams of the best virtue that adorns the throne; and the Sovereign was given to understand, that the execution of Admiral Byng was a victim absolutely necessary to appease the fury of the people. His Majesty, in consequence of the representation made by the Lords of the Admiralty, referred the sentence to the consideration of the twelve judges, who were unanimously of opinion that the sentence was legal. This report being transmitted from the Privy-Council to the Admiralty, their Lordships issued a warrant for executing the sentence of death on the twenty-eighth day of February. One gentleman at the board, however, refused to subscribe the warrant, assigning for his refusal the reasons which we have inserted by way of note, for the satisfaction of the reader*.

§ XLIII.

* Admiral F————s's reasons for not signing the warrant for Admiral Byng's execution:

"IT may be thought great presumption in me to differ from so great authority as that of the twelve judges; but when a man is called upon to sign his name to an act which is to give authority to the shedding of blood, he ought to be guided by his own conscience, and not by the opinions of other men.

"In the case before us, it is not the merit of Admiral Byng that I consider: whether he deserves death or not, is not a question for me to decide; but whether or not his life can be taken away by the sentence, pronounced on him by the court-martial, and after having so clearly explained their motives for pronouncing such a sentence, is the point which alone has employed my serious consideration.

"The twelfth article of war, on which Admiral Byng's sentence is grounded, says, (according to my understanding of its meaning,) 'That every person, who, in the time of action, shall withdraw, keep back, or not come into fight, to do his utmost, &c. through motives of cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, shall suffer death.' The court-martial does, in express words, acquit Admiral Byng of cowardice and disaffection, and does not name the word Negligence. Admiral Byng does not, as I conceive, fall under the letter or description of the twelfth article of war. It may be said, that negligence is implied, though the word is not mentioned, otherwise the court-martial would not have brought his offence under the twelfth article,

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§ XLIIII. Though mercy was denied to the criminal, the crown seemed determined to do nothing that should be thought inconsistent with law.—A member of Parliament, who had sat upon the court-martial at Portsmouth, rose up in his place, and made application to the House of Commons in behalf of himself and several other members of that tribunal, praying the aid of the legislature to be released from the oath of secrecy imposed on courts-martial,

article, having acquitted him of cowardise and disaffection. But it must be acknowledged that the negligence implied cannot be wilful negligence; for wilful negligence, in Admiral Byng's situation, must have proceeded either from cowardice or disaffection, and he is expressly acquitted of both these crimes; besides, these crimes, which are implied only, and not named, may indeed justify suspicion and private opinion, but cannot satisfy the conscience in case of blood.

"Admiral Byng's fate was referred to a court-martial, his life and death were left to their opinions. The court-martial condemn him to death, because as they expressly say, they were under a necessity of doing so by reason of the letter of the law, the severity of which they complained of, because it admits of no mitigation. The court-martial expressly say, that for the sake of their consciences, as well as in justice to the prisoner, they must earnestly recommend him to his Majesty for mercy; it is evident, then, that in the opinions and consciences of the judges, he was not deserving of death.

"The question then is, shall the opinions or necessities of the court-martial determine Admiral Byng's fate? If it should be the latter, he will be executed contrary to the intentions and meaning of his judges: if the former, his life is not forfeited. His judges declare him not deserving of death; but, mistaking either the meaning of the law, or the nature of his offence, they bring him under an article of war, which, according to their own description of his offence, he does not, I conceive, fall under; and then they condemn him to death because, as they say, the law admits of no mitigation. Can a man's life be taken away by such a sentence? I would not willingly be misunderstood, and have it believed that I judge of Admiral Byng's deserts: that was the business of a court-martial, and it is my duty only to act according to my conscience; which, after deliberate consideration, assisted by the best light a poor understanding can afford it, remains still in doubt, and therefore I cannot consent to sign a warrant whereby the sentence of the court martial may be carried into execution; for I cannot help thinking, that however criminal Admiral Byng may be, his life is not forfeited by that sentence. I do not mean to find fault with other men's opinions; all I endeavour at, is to give reasons for my own; and all I desire or wish is, that I may not be misunderstood; I do not pretend to judge Admiral Byng's deserts, nor to give any opinion on the propriety of the act.

"Signed, 6th Feb. 1737, at the Admiralty.

"J. F——S."

martial, that they might disclose the grounds on which sentence of death had passed on Admiral Byng, and, perhaps, discover such circumstances as might show the sentence to be improper. Although this application produced no resolution in the House, the King, on the twenty-sixth day of February, sent a message to the Commons by Mr. Secretary Pitt, importing, that though he had determined to let the law take its course with relation to Admiral Byng, and resisted all solicitations to the contrary, yet, as a member of the House had expressed some scruples about the sentence, his Majesty had thought fit to respite the execution of it, that there might be an opportunity of knowing, by the separate examination of the members of the court-martial, upon oath, what grounds there were for such scruples, and that his Majesty was resolved still to let the sentence be carried into execution, unless it should appear from the said examination, that Admiral Byng was unjustly condemned. The sentence might be strictly legal, and at the same time, very severe, according to the maxim, *summum jus, summa injuria*. In such cases, and perhaps in some cases only, the rigour of the law ought to be softened by the lenient hand of the royal prerogative. That this was the case of Admiral Byng appears from the warm and eager intercession of his jury, a species of intercession which hath generally, if not always, prevailed at the foot of the throne, when any thing favourable for the criminal had appeared in the course of the trial. How much more then might it have been expected to succeed, when earnestly urged as a case of conscience in behalf of a man whom his judges had expressly acquitted of cowardice and treachery, the only two imputations that rendered him criminal in the eyes of the nation! Such an interposition of the crown in parliamentary transactions was irregular, unnecessary, and at another juncture might have been productive of violent heats and declamation.

At

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At present, however, it passed without censure, as the effect of inattention, rather than a design to encroach upon the privileges of the House.

§ XLIV. The message being communicated, a bill was immediately brought in, to release the members of the court-martial from the obligation of secrecy, and passed through the Lower-House without opposition: but in the House of Lords it appeared to be destitute of a proper foundation. They sent a message to the Commons, desiring them to give leave that such of the members of the court-martial as were members of that House might attend their Lordships, in order to be examined on the second reading of the bill; accordingly they, and the rest of the court-martial, attended, and answered all questions without hesitation. As they did not insist upon any excuse, nor produce any satisfactory reason for showing that the man they had condemned was a proper object of mercy, their Lordships were of opinion that there was no occasion for passing any such bill, which, therefore, they almost unanimously rejected. It is not easy to conceive what stronger reasons could be given for proving Mr. Byng an object of mercy, than those mentioned in the letter sent to the board of Admiralty by the members of the court-martial, who were empowered to try the imputed offence, consequently must have been deemed well qualified to judge of his conduct.

§ XLV. The unfortunate Admiral being thus abandoned to the stroke of justice, prepared himself for death with resignation and tranquillity. He maintained a surprising chearfulness to the last; nor did he, from his condemnation to his execution, exhibit the least sign of impatience or apprehension. During that interval he had remained on board of the Monarque, a third-rate ship of war, anchored in the harbour of Portsmouth, under a strong guard, in custody of the Marshal of the Admiralty. On the

5 fourteenth

fourteenth of March, the day fixed for his execution, the boats belonging to the squadron at Spithead being manned and armed, containing their captains and officers, with a detachment of marines, attended this solemnity in the harbour, which was also crowded with an infinite number of other boats and vessels filled with spectators. About noon, the Admiral having taken leave of a clergyman, and two friends who accompanied him, walked out of the great cabin to the quarter-deck, where two files of marines were ready to execute the sentence. He advanced with a firm deliberate step, a composed and resolute countenance, and resolved to suffer with his face uncovered, until his friends, representing that his looks would possibly intimidate the soldiers, and prevent their taking aim properly, he submitted to their request, threw his hat on the deck, kneeled on a cushion, tied one white handkerchief over his eyes, and dropped the other as a signal for his executioners, who fired a volley so decisive, that five balls passed through his body, and he dropped down dead in an instant. The time in which this tragedy was acted, from his walking out of the cabin to his being deposited in the coffin, did not exceed three minutes.

§ XLVI. Thus fell, to the astonishment of all Europe, Admiral John Byng; who, whatever his errors and indiscretions might have been, seems to have been rashly condemned, meanly given up, and cruelly sacrificed to vile considerations. The sentiments of his own fate he avowed on the verge of eternity, when there was no longr any cause of dissimulation, in the following declaration, which, immediately before his death, he delivered to the Marshal of the Admiralty: "A few moments will now deliver me from the virulent persecution, and frustrate the further malice of my enemies: nor need I envy them a life subject to the sensations my injuries, and the injustice done me, must create. Persuaded I am, that

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that justice will be done to my reputation hereafter: the manner and cause of raising and keeping up the popular clamour and prejudice against me will be seen through. I shall be considered (as I now perceive myself) a victim destined to divert the indignation and resentment of an injured and deluded people from the proper objects. My enemies themselves must now think me innocent. Happy for me, at this my last moment, that I know my own innocence, and am conscious that no part of my country's misfortunes can be owing to me. I heartily wish the shedding of my blood may contribute to the happiness and service of my country; but cannot resign my just claim to a faithful discharge of my duty according to the best of my judgment, and the utmost exertion of my ability for his Majesty's honour, and my country's service. I am sorry that my endeavours were not attended with more success, and that the armament under my command proved too weak to succeed in any expedition of such moment. Truth has prevailed over calumny and falsehood, and justice has wiped off the ignominious stain of my supposed want of personal courage, and the charge of disaffection. My heart acquits me of these crimes: but who can be presumptuously sure of his own judgment? If my crime is an error in judgment, or differing in opinion from my judges, and if yet the error in judgment should be on their side, God forgive them, as I do; and may the distress of their minds, and uneasiness of their consciences, which in justice to me they have represented, be relieved, and subside as my resentment has done. The supreme Judge sees all hearts and motives, and to him I must submit the justice of my cause."

§ XLVII. Notwithstanding all that has been said in his favour, notwithstanding the infamous arts that were practised to keep up the cry against him, notwithstanding this solemn appeal to Heaven in his last moments,

moments, and even self-conviction of innocence, the character of Admiral Byng, in point of personal courage, will still, with many people, remain problematical. They will still be of opinion, that if the spirit of a British Admiral had been properly exerted, the French fleet would have been defeated, and Minorca relieved. A man's opinion of danger varies at different times, in consequence of an irregular tide of animal spirits, and he is actuated by considerations which he dares not avow. After an officer, thus influenced, has hesitated or kept aloof in the hour of trial, the mind, eager for its own justification, assembles with surprising industry, every favourable circumstance of excuse, and broods over them with parental partiality, until it becomes not only satisfied, but even enamoured of their beauty and complexion, like a doating mother, blind to the deformity of her own offspring. Whatever Mr. Byng's internal feelings might have been, whatever consequences might have attended his behaviour on that occasion; as the tribunal before which he was tried acquitted him expressly of cowardice and treachery, he was without all doubt, a proper object for royal clemency; and so impartial posterity will judge him, after all those dishonourable motives of faction and of fear, by which his fate was influenced, shall be lost in oblivion, or remembered with disdain. The people of Great-Britain, naturally fierce, impatient, and clamorous, have been too much indulged, upon every petty miscarriage, with trials, courts-martial, and dismissions, which tend only to render their military commanders rash and precipitate, the populace more licentious and intractable, and to disgrace the national character in the opinion of mankind.

CHAP. VII.

§ I. *Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge taken into the administration.* § II. *Obliged to resign.* § III. *Restored to their employments.* § IV. *Coalition of parties.* § V. *Descent on the coast of France meditated.* § VI. *Command of the fleet given to Sir Edward Hawke, and of the land forces to Sir John Mordaunt. Fleet sails, September* 8. § VII. *Admiral Knowles sent to take Aix.* § VIII. *Attack and surrender of Aix.* § IX. *A descent resolved on.* § X. *The fleet returns to Spithead. His Majesty appoints a board of enquiry into the reasons of the fleet's return.* § XI. *Proceedings of the court of enquiry.* § XII. *Its report.* § XIII. *Sir John Mordaunt tried by a court-martial, and acquitted.* § XIV. *Fleets sent to the East and West-Indies.* § XV. *Success of the English privateers.* § XVI. *Riots occasioned by the high price of corn.* § XVII. *Operations in America.* § XVIII. *Lord Loudoun's conduct in America.* § XIX. *Fort William Henry taken by the French.* § XX. *Naval transactions in America.* § XXI. *Attempt of M. de Kersin on Cape-coast-castle, in Africa.* § XXII. *State of affairs in the East-Indies. Calcutta recovered. The Suba's camp forced, and a new treaty concluded with him.* § XXIII. *Reduction of Chandernagore.* § XXIV. *Colonel Clive defeats the Suba at Plaissey, who is afterwards deposed and put to death.* § XXV. *King of France assassinated. Tortures inflicted on the assassin.* § XXVI. *Changes in the French ministry.* § XXVII. *State of the confederacy against the King of Prussia.* § XXVIII. *Precautions taken by his Prussian Majesty.* § XXIX. *Skirmishes between the Prussians and Austrians.* § XXX. *Neutrality of the Emperor, and behaviour of the Dutch.* § XXXI. *The French take possession of*

of several towns in the Low-Countries belonging to the King of Prussia. § XXXII. *Declaration of the Czarina against the King of Prussia. Factions in Poland.* § XXXIII. *Fruitless endeavours of the English to restore the tranquillity of Germany.* § XXXIV. *King of Prussia enters Bohemia. Prince of Bevern defeats the Austrians at Richenberg.* § XXXV. *King of Prussia gains a complete victory over the Austrians near Prague. Mareschal Schwerin killed.* § XXXVI. *Prague invested.* § XXXVII. *And bombarded. Brave defence of the besieged.* § XXXVIII. *Count Dawn takes the command of the Austrian army. His character.* § XXXIX. *King of Prussia defeated at Kolin.* § XL. *He raises the siege of Prague, and quits Bohemia.* § XLI. *Preparations for the defence of Hanover. The allied army assembles under the Duke of Cumberland.* § XLII. *Skirmishes with the French.* § XLIII. *Duke of Cumberland passes the Weser. The French follow him, and take Minden and Embden, and lay Hanover under contribution.* § XLIV. *Battle of Hastenbeck.* § XLV. *The French take Hamelen. Duke de Richlieu supersedes Mareschal d'Etrées in the command of the French army.* § XLVI. *The French take possession of Hanover and Hesse-Cassel.* § XLVII. *And reduce Verden and Bremen. Duke of Cumberland signs the convention of Closter-Seven.*

CHAP. VII. 1757.

§ I. THOUGH the Parliament of Great-Britain unanimously concurred in strengthening the hands of government for a vigorous prosecution of the war, these liberal supplies had like to have proved ineffectual through a want of harmony in her councils. In the course of the last year the clamorous voices of dissatisfaction had been raised by a series of disappointments and miscarriages, which were imputed to want of intelligence, sagacity, and vigour in the administration. The defeat of Braddock, the reduction of Oswego, and other forts in

 America,

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America, the delay of armaments, the neglect of opportunities, ineffectual cruises, absurd dispositions of fleets and squadrons, the disgrace in the Mediterranean, and the loss of Minorca, were numbered among the misfortunes that flowed from the crude designs of a weak dispirited ministry; and the prospect of their acquiescing in a continental war brought them still farther in contempt and detestation with the body of the people. In order to conciliate the good-will of those whom their conduct had disobliged, to acquire a fresh stock of credit with their fellow-subjects, and remove from their own shoulders part of what future censure might ensue, they admitted into a share of the administration a certain set of gentlemen, remarkable for their talents and popularity, headed by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, esteemed the two most illustrious patriots of Great-Britain, alike distinguished and admired for their unconquerable spirit and untainted integrity. The former of these was appointed Secretary of State, the other Chancellor of the Exchequer; and their friends were vested with other honourable though subordinate offices.

§ II. So far the people were charmed with the promotion of individuals, upon whose virtues and abilities they had the most perfect reliance: but these new ingredients would never thoroughly mix with the old leaven. The administration became an emblem of the image that Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream, the leg was of iron, and the foot was of clay. The old junto found their new associates very unfit for their purposes. They could neither persuade, cajole, nor intimidate them into measures which they thought repugnant to the true interest of their country. The new ministers combated in council every such plan, however patronised: they openly opposed in Parliament every design which they deemed unworthy of the Crown, or prejudicial to the people, even though distinguished by the predilection

dilection of the Sovereign. Far from bargaining for their places, and surrendering their principles by capitulation, they maintained in office their independency and candour with the most vigilant circumspection, and seemed determined to show, that he is the best minister to the Sovereign who acts with the greatest probity towards the subject. Those who immediately surrounded the throne were supposed to have concealed the true characters of these faithful servants from the knowledge of their Royal Master; to have represented them as obstinate, imperious, ignorant, and even lukewarm in their loyalty; and to have declared, that with such colleagues it would be impossible to move the machine of government according to his Majesty's inclination. These suggestions, artfully inculcated, produced the desired effect: on the ninth day of April, Mr. Pitt, by his Majesty's command, resigned the seals of Secretary of State for the southern department. In the room of Mr. Legge, the King was pleased to grant the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Right Honourable Lord Mansfield, Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, the same personage whom we have mentioned before under the name of Mr. Murray, Solicitor-General, now promoted and ennobled for his extraordinary merit and important services. The fate of Mr. Pitt was extended to some of his principal friends: the Board of Admiralty was changed, and some other removals were made with the same intention.

§ III. What was intended as a disgrace to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge turned out one of the most shining circumstances of their characters. The whole nation seemed to rise up, as one man, in the vindication of their fame: every mouth was opened in their praise; and a greater number of respectable cities and corporations presented them with the freedom of their respective societies, enclosed in gold boxes of curious workmanship, as testimonies of

their

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their peculiar veneration. What the people highly esteem, they in a manner idolize. Not contented with making offerings so flattering and grateful to conscious virtue, they conceived the most violent prejudices against those gentlemen who succeeded in the administration; fully convinced, that the same persons who had sunk the nation in the present distressful circumstances, who had brought on her dishonour, and reduced her to the verge of destruction, were by no means the fit instruments of her delivery and redemption. The whole kingdom caught fire at the late changes; nor could the power, the cunning, and the artifice of a faction, long support it against the united voice of Great-Britain, which soon pierced the ears of the Sovereign. It was not possible to persuade the people that salutary measures could be suggested or pursued, except by the few, whose zeal for the honour of their country, and steady adherence to an upright disinterested conduct, had secured their confidence, and claimed their veneration. A great number of addresses, dutifully and loyally expressed, soliciting the King, ever ready to meet half-way the wishes of his faithful people, to restore Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge to their former employments. Upon this they rested the security and honour of the nation, as well as the publick expectation of the speedy and successful issue of a war, hitherto attended with disgraces and misfortunes. Accordingly, his Majesty was graciously pleased to re-deliver the seals to Mr. Pitt, appointing him Secretary of State for the southern department, on the twenty-ninth day of June; and, five days after, the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer was restored to Mr. Legge: promotions that afforded universal satisfaction.

§ IV. It would not perhaps, be possible to exclude, from a share in the administration, all who were not perfectly agreeable to the people: however unpopular the late ministry might appear, still they possessed

possessed sufficient influence in the Privy-council, and credit in the house of Commons, to thwart every measure in which they did not themselves partake. This consideration, and very recent experience, probably dictated the necessity of a coalition, salutary in itself, and prudent, because it was the only means of assuaging the rage of faction, and healing those divisions, more pernicious to the publick than the most mistaken and blundering councils. Sir Robert Henley was made Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, and sworn of his Majesty's Privy-council, on the thirteenth day of June: the custody of the Privy Seal was committed to Earl Temple: his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Legge, Mr. Nugent, Lord Viscount Duncannon, and Mr. Grenville, were appointed Commissioners for executing the office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Exchequer: Lord Anson, Admirals Boscawen and Forbes, Dr. Hay, Mr. West, Mr. Hunter, and Mr. Elliott, to preside at the Board of Admiralty: Mr. Fox was gratified with the office of Receiver and Paymaster-general of all his Majesty's guards, garrisons, and land-forces: and the Earl of Thomond was made Treasurer of the King's Household, and sworn of his Majesty's Privy-council. Other promotions likewise took place, with a design to gratify the adherents of either party; and so equally was the royal favour distributed, that the utmost harmony for a long time subsisted. Ingredients, seemingly heterogeneous, consolidated into one uniform mass, so as to produce effects far exceeding the most sanguine expectations; and this prudent arrangement proved displeasing only to those whom violent party-attachment had inspired with a narrow and exclusive spirit.

§ V. The accumulated losses and disappointments of the preceding year made it absolutely necessary to retrieve the credit of the British arms and councils by some vigorous and spirited enterprize, which should at the same time, produce some change in the

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the circumstances of his Prussian Majesty, already depressed by the repulse of Colin, and in danger of being attacked by the whole power of France, now ready to fall upon him, like a torrent, which had so lately swept before it the army of observation, now on the brink of disgrace. A well-planned and vigorous descent on the coast of France, it was thought would probably give a decisive blow to the marine of that kingdom, and at the same time effect a powerful diversion in favour of the Prussian Monarch and the Duke of Cumberland, driven from all his posts in the electorate of Hanover, by drawing a part of the French forces to the defence and protection of their own coasts. Both were objects of great concern, upon which the Sovereign and ministry were sedulously bent. His Royal Highness the Duke, in a particular manner, urged the necessity of some enterprize of this nature, as the only expedient to obviate the shameful convention now in agitation. The ministry foresaw, that, by destroying the enemy's shipping, all succours would be cut off from America, whither they were daily transporting troops; the British commerce secured, without those convoys so inconvenient to the Board of Admiralty, and to the merchants; and those ideal fears of an invasion, that had in some measure affected the publick credit, wholly dispelled.

§ VI. From these considerations a powerful fleet was ordered to be got in readiness to put to sea on the shortest notice, and ten regiments of foot were marched to the Isle of Wight. The naval armament, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and transports, was put under the command of Sir Edward Hawke, an officer whose faithful services recommended him, above all others, to this command; and Rear-Admiral Knowles was appointed his subaltern. Sir John Mordaunt was preferred to take the command of the land forces; and both strictly enjoined to act with the

the utmost unanimity and harmony. Europe beheld with astonishment these mighty preparations. The destination of the armament was wrapped in the most profound secresy: it exercised the penetration of politicians, and filled France with very serious alarms. Various were the impediments which obstructed the embarkation of the troops for several weeks, while Mr. Pitt expressed the greatest uneasiness at the delay, and repeatedly urged the commander in chief to expedite his departure; but a sufficient number of transports, owing to some blunder in the contractors, had not yet arrived. The troops expressed an eager impatience to signalize themselves against the enemies of the liberties of Europe; but the superstitious drew unfavourable presages from the dilatoriness of the embarkation. At last the transports arrived, the troops were put on board with all expedition, and the fleet got under sail on the eighth day of September, attended with the prayers of every man warmed with the love of his country, and solicitous for her honour. The publick, big with expectation, dubious where the stroke would fall, but confident of its success, were impatient for tidings from the fleet; but it was not till the fourteenth, that even the troops on board began to conjecture that a descent was meditated on the coast of France, near Rochefort or Rochelle.

§ VII. On the twentieth, the fleet made the Isle of Oleron, and then Sir Edward Hawke sent an order to Vice-Admiral Knowles, requiring him, if the wind permitted the fleet, to proceed to Basque road, to stand in as near to the Isle of Aix as the pilot would carry him, with such ships of his division as he thought necessary for the service, and to batter the fort till the garrison should either abandon or surrender it. But the immediate execution of this order was frustrated by a French ship of war's standing in to the very middle of the fleet, and continuing in that station for some time before she discovered

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covered her mistake, or any of the Captains had a signal thrown out to give chace. Admiral Knowles, when too late, ordered the Magnanime, Captain Howe, and Torbay, Captain Keppel, on that service, and thereby retarded the attack upon which he was immediately sent. A stroke of policy greatly to be admired, as from hence he gained time to assure himself of the strength of the fortifications of Aix, before he ran his Majesty's ships into danger.

§ VIII. While the above ships, with the addition of the Royal William, were attending the French ship of war safe into the river Garonne, the remainder of the fleet was beating to windward off the Isle of Oleron; and the commander in chief publishing orders and regulations which did credit to his judgement, and would have been highly useful, had there ever been occasion to put them in execution. On the twenty-third the van of the fleet, led by Captain Howe in the Magnanime, stood towards Aix, a small island situated in the mouth of the river Charente, leading up to Rochefort, the fortifications half finished, and mounted with about thirty cannon and mortars, the garrison composed of six hundred men, and the whole island about five miles in circumference. As the Magnanime approached, the enemy fired briskly upon her; but Captain Howe, regardless of their faint endeavours, kept on his course without flinching, dropped his anchors close to the walls, and poured in so incessant a fire as soon silenced their artillery. It was, however, near an hour before the fort struck, when some forces were landed to take possession of so important a conquest, with orders to demolish the fortifications, the care of which was entrusted to Vice-Admiral Knowles.

§ IX. Inconsiderable as this success might appear, it greatly elated the troops, and was deemed an happy omen of further advantages; but, instead of embarking the troops that night, as was universally expected,

expected, several successive days were spent in councils of war, soundings of the coast, and deliberations whether the King's express orders were practicable, or to be complied with. Eight days were elapsed since the first appearance of the fleet on the coast, and the alarm was given to the enemy. Sir Edward Hawke, indeed proposed laying a sixty gun ship against Fouras, and battering that fort, which it was thought would help to secure the landing of the troops, and facilitate the enterprize on Rochefort. This a French pilot on board (Thierry) undertook; but after a ship had been lighted for the purpose, Vice Admiral Knowles reported, that a bomb-ketch had run a-ground at above the distance of two miles from the fort; upon which, the project of battering or bombarding the fort was abandoned. The Admiral likewise proposed to bombard Rochelle: but this overture was over-ruled, for reasons which we need not mention. It was at length determined, in a council of war held on the eighth, to make a descent and attack the forts leading to and upon the mouth of the river Charente. An order, in consequence of this resolution, was immediately issued for the troops to be ready to embark from the transports in the boats precisely at twelve o'clock at night. Accordingly, the boats were prepared, and filled with the men at the time appointed, and now they remained beating against each other, and the sides of the ships, for the space of four hours, while the council were determining whether, after all the trouble given, they should land; when, at length, an order was published for the troops to return to their respective transports, and all thoughts of a descent, to appearance, were wholly abandoned. The succeeding days were employed in blowing up and demolishing the fortifications of Aix; after which, the land-officers, in a council of war, took the final resolution of returning to England without any further attempts, fully satis-

fied they had done all in their power to execute the designs of the ministry, and choosing rather to oppose the frowns of an angry Sovereign, the murmurs of an incensed nation, and the contempt of mankind, than fight an handful of dastardly militia. Such was the issue of an expedition that raised the expectation of all Europe, threw the coasts of France into the utmost confusion, and cost the people of England little less than a million of money.

§ X. The fleet was no sooner returned than the whole nation was in a ferment. The publick expectation had been wound up to the highest pitch, and now the disappointment was proportioned to the sanguine hopes conceived, that the pride of France would have been humbled by so formidable an armament. The ministry, and with them the national voice, exclaimed against the commanding officers, and the military men retorted the calumny, by laying the blame on the projectors of the enterprize, who had put the nation to great expence before they had obtained the necessary information. Certain it was, that blame must fall somewhere, and the ministry resolved to acquit themselves and fix the accusation, by requesting his Majesty to appoint a board of officers of character and ability, to enquire into the causes of the late miscarriage. This alone it was that could appease the publick clamours, and afford general satisfaction. The enemies of Mr. Pitt endeavoured to wrest the miscarriages of the expedition to his prejudice, but the whispers of faction were soon drowned in the voice of the whole people of England, who never could persuade themselves that a gentleman, raised to the height of power and popularity by mere dint of superior merit, integrity, and disinterestedness, would now sacrifice his reputation by a mock armament, or hazard incurring the derision of Europe, by neglecting to obtain all the necessary previous information, or doing whatever might contribute to the success of the expedition. It

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was asked whether reason or justice dictated, that a late unfortunate Admiral should be capitally punished for not trying and exerting his utmost ability to relieve Fort St. Philip, invested by a powerful army, and surrounded with a numerous fleet, while no charge of negligence or cowardice was brought against those who occasioned the miscarriage of a well-concerted and well-appointed expedition? The people, they said, were not to be quieted with the resolutions of a council of war, composed of men whose inactivity might frame excuses for declining to expose themselves to danger. It was publickly mentioned, that such backwardness appeared among the general officers before the fleet reached the Isle of Oleron, as occasioned the Admiral to declare, with warmth, that he would comply with his orders, and go into Basque-road, whatever might be the consequence. It was asked why the army did not land on the night of the twenty-third or twenty-fourth, and whether the officers, sent out to reconnoitre, had returned with such intelligence as seemed to render a descent impracticable? It was asked, whether the Commander in Chief had complied with his Majesty's orders, "To attempt, as far as should be found practicable, "a descent on the coast of France, at or near Roche-"fort, in order to attack, and by a vigorous im-"pression, force that place; and to burn and de-"stroy, to the utmost of his power, all docks, ma-"gazines, arsenals, and shipping, as shall be found "there?" Such rumours as these, every where propagated, rendered an enquiry no less necessary to the reputation of the officers on the expedition, than to the minister who had projected it. Accordingly, a board, consisting of three officers of rank, reputation, and ability, was appointed by his Majesty, to enquire into the reasons why the fleet returned without having executed his Majesty's orders.

§ XI. The three general officers, who met on the twenty-first of the same month, were Charles, Duke of Marlborough, Lieutenant-General, Major-Generals

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rals Lord George Sackville and John Waldegrave. To judge of the practicability of executing his Majesty's orders, it was necessary to enquire into the nature of the intelligence upon which the expedition was projected. The first and most important was a letter sent to Sir John, afterwards Lord Ligonier, by Lieutenant-Colonel Clark. This letter had been frequently examined in the Privy-Council, and contained in substance, that Colonel Clark, in returning from Gibraltar, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, had travelled along the western coast of France, to observe the condition of the fortifications, and judge how far a descent would be practicable in case of a rupture between Great-Britain and France. On his coming to Rochefort, where he was attended by an engineer, he was surprised to find the greatest part of a good rampart, with a revetement, flanked only with redans; no outworks, no covered-way, and, in many places, no ditch, so that the bottom of the wall was seen at a distance. He remembered, that in other places, where the earth had been taken out to form the rampart, there was left round them a considerable height of ground, whence an enemy might draw a great advantage: that for above the length of a front, or two or three hundred yards, there was no rampart, or even entrenchment, but only small ditches, in the low and marshy grounds next the river, which, however, were dry at low water; yet the bottom remained muddy and slimy. Towards the river no rampart, no batteries, no parapet, on either side appeared, and on the land side he observed some high ground within the distance of one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards of the town; in which condition the Colonel was told by the engineer the place had remained for above seventy years. To prevent giving umbrage, he drew no plan of the place, and even burnt the few sketches he had by him: however, as to utility, the Colonel declared himself as much satisfied as if he had

had taken a plan. He could not ascertain the direct height of the rampart, but thought it could not exceed twenty-five feet, including the parapet. The river might be about one hundred and thirty feet broad, and the entrance defended by two or three small redoubts. As to forces, none are ever garrisoned at Rochefort, except marines, which, at the time the Colonel was on the spot, amounted to about one thousand. This was the first intelligence the ministry received of the state of Rochefort, which afforded sufficient room to believe, that an attack by surprise might be attended with happy consequences. It was true, that Colonel Clark made his observations in time of peace; but it was likewise probable, that no great alterations were made on account of the war, as the place had remained in the same condition during the two or three last wars with France, when they had the same reasons as now to expect their coasts would be insulted. The next information was obtained from Joseph Thierry, a French pilot, of the Protestant religion, who passed several examinations before the Privy-Council This person declared, that he had followed the business of a pilot on the coast of France for the space of twenty years, and served as first pilot in several of the King's ships: that he had, in particular, piloted the Magnanime, before she was taken by the English, for about twenty-two months, and had often conducted her into the road of the Isle of Aix; and that he was perfectly acquainted with the entrance, which, indeed, is so easy as to render a pilot almost unnecessary. The road, he said, afforded good anchorage in twelve or fourteen fathoms water, as far as Bayonne; the channel between the islands of Oleron and Rhé was three leagues broad, and the banks necessary to be avoided lay near the land, except one called the Boiard, which is easily discerned by the breakers. He affirmed, that the largest vessels might draw up close to the fort of Aix, which he would undertake the Magnanime

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nanime alone should destroy; that the largest ships might come up to the Vigerot, two miles distant from the mouth of the river, with all their cannon and stores: that men might be landed to the north of fort Fouras, out of sight of the fort, upon a meadow where the ground is firm and level, under cover of the cannon of the fleet. This landing place he reckoned at about five miles from Rochefort, the way dry, and no way intercepted by ditches and morasses. He said, great part of the city was encompassed by a wall, but towards the river, on both sides, for about sixty paces, it was enclosed only with palisades, without a fossé. To the intelligence of Col. Clark and Thierry, the minister added a secret account obtained of the strength and distribution of the French forces, whence it appeared highly probable that no more than ten thousand men could be allowed for the defence of the whole coast, from St. Valery to Bourdeaux. In consequence of the above information the secret expedition was planned; instructions were given to Sir John Mordaunt and Admiral Hawke to make a vigorous impression on the French coast, and all the other measures projected, which it was imagined would make an effectual diversion, by obliging the enemy to employ a great part of their forces at home, disturb and shake the credit of their publick loans, impair the strength and resources of their navy, disconcert their extensive and dangerous operations of war, and finally, give life, strength, and lustre to the common cause and his Majesty's arms. The board of enquiry took next into consideration the several letters and explanatory instructions sent to Sir John Mordaunt, in consequence of some difficulties which might possibly occur, stated by that General in letters to the minister, previous to his sailing. Then they examined the report made to Sir Edward Hawke by Admiral Broderick, and the captains of men of war sent to sound the French shore from Rochelle to fort Fouras, dated September the

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twenty-ninth; the result of the councils of war on the twenty-fifth and twenty-eighth; Sir Edward Hawke's letter to Sir John Mordaunt on the twenty-seventh, and the General's answer on the twenty-ninth: after which Sir John Mordaunt was called upon to give his reasons for not putting his Majesty's instructions and orders in execution. This he did in substance as follows: The attempt on Rochefort, he understood, was to have been on the footing of a *coup de main*, or surprise, which it would be impossible to execute if the design was discovered, or the alarm taken. He also understood that an attempt could not be made, nay, that his Majesty did not require it should, unless a proper place for debarking, and a safe retreat for the troops was discovered, particularly where the ships could protect them; and a safe communication with the fleet, and conveyance of supplies from it, were found. His sentiments, he said, were confirmed by a paper to this purpose, delivered to him by Sir John Ligonier, on his first being appointed to command the expedition. It was likewise probable, he thought, that although Rochefort should have remained in the situation in which Colonel Clark and the pilot Thierry had seen it three years before, yet that a few days preparation could make it sufficiently defensible against a *coup de main*. Judging, therefore, the dependence on such an operation alone improper, he applied to the ministry for two more old battalions, and artillery for a regular attack to force the place, which, from its construction, appeared as difficult to be made defensible against the latter, as easily secured against the former. But this request being refused, he still thought it his duty to obey his orders on the footing on which the expedition was planned, especially as he understood his instructions were discretionary, regarding the circumstances of the time, the condition of the place, and the nature of the service. He recited the positive and credible intel-

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ligence received, as well before the embarkation as during the voyage, of the alarm given to France, and the preparations made along the French coasts, from Brest and St. Maloes to Rochefort: the accidents that kept the fleet hovering along the coasts, and prevented the possibility of an attempt by surprise: the reports of all the gentlemen employed in sounding the coasts, so contrary to the intelligence given by Thierry the pilot; the opinion of the council of war, by which he was enjoined to act, and with which his own judgment concurred: the endeavours used, after the twenty-sixth, to find out some expedient for annoying the enemy and executing his Majesty's instructions: the attempt made to land, in consequence of the resolution of the second council of war, which was prevented by boisterous and stormy weather; and, lastly, the reasons that determined him, in concert with the other land officers, to return to England.

§ XII. Having considered all these circumstances, and examined several officers who served in the expedition, the court of enquiry gave in the following report to his Majesty:—" It appears to us, that one cause of the expedition having failed is, the not attacking fort Fouras by sea, at the same time that it could have been attacked by land, agreeably to the first design, which certainly must have been of the greatest utility towards carrying your Majesty's instructions into execution. It was at first resolved by Admiral Hawke; (Thierry, the pilot, having undertaken the safe conduct of a ship to fort Fouras for that purpose,) but afterwards laid aside, upon the representation of Vice Admiral Knowles, that the Barfleur, the ship designed for that service, was a-ground, at the distance of between four and five miles from the shore: but as neither Sir Edward Hawke or the pilot could attend to give any information upon that head, we cannot presume to offer any certain opinion thereupon. We conceive another cause of the failure

failure of the expedition to have been, that, instead of attempting to land, when the report was received, on the twenty-fourth of September, from Rear-Admiral Broderick, and the Captains who had been out to sound and reconnoitre, a council of war was summoned, and held on the twenty-fifth, in which it was unanimously resolved not to land, as the attempt on Rochefort was neither advisable or practicable: but it does not appear to us that there were then or at any time afterwards, either a body of troops or batteries on shore sufficient to have prevented the attempting a descent, in pursuance of the instructions signed by your Majesty: neither does it appear to us that there were any reasons sufficient to induce the council of war to believe that Rochefort was so changed in respect to its strength, or posture of defence, since the expedition was first resolved on in England, as to prevent all attempts of an attack upon the place, in order to burn and destroy the docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping, in obedience to your Majesty's command. And we think ourselves obliged to remark, in the council of war on the twenty-eighth of September, that no reason could have existed sufficient to prevent the attempt of landing the troops, as the council then unanimously resolved to land with all possible dispatch. We beg leave also to remark, that after its being unanimously resolved to land, in the council of war of the twenty-eighth of September, the resolution was taken of returning to England, without any regular or general meeting of the said council: but as the whole operation was of so inconsiderable a nature, we do not offer this to your Majesty as a cause of the failure of the expedition; since we cannot but look upon the expedition to have failed from the time the great object of it was laid aside in the council of war of the twenty-fifth."

§ XIII. This report, signed by the general officers, Marlborough, Sackville, and Waldegrave, proba-

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bly laid the foundation for the Court-martial which sat soon after upon the conduct of the commander in chief on the expedition. The enemies of the minister made a handle of the miscarriage to lessen him in the esteem of the publick, by laying the whole blame on his forming a project so expensive to the nation, on intelligence not only slight at the first view, but false upon further examination. But the people were still his advocates; they discerned something mysterious in the whole conduct of the commander in chief. They plainly perceived that caution took place of vigour, and that the hours for action were spent in deliberations and councils of war. Had he debarked the troops, and made such an attack as would have distinguished his courage, the voice of the people would have acquitted him, however unsuccessful, though prudence, perhaps, might have condemned him. Even Braddock's rashness they deemed preferable to Mordaunt's inactivity; the loss of so many brave lives was thought less injurious and disgraceful to the nation, than the too safe return of the present armament. The one demonstrsted that the British spirit still existed; the other seemed to indicate the too powerful influence of wealth, luxury, and those manners which tend to debauch and emasculate the mind. A publick trial of the commander in chief was expected by the people, and it was graciously granted by his Majesty. It is even thought that Sir John Mordaunt himself demanded to have his conduct scrutinized, by which method alone he was sensible his character could be re-established. His Majesty's warrant for holding a Court-martial was accordingly signed on the third day of December. The Court was composed of nine lieutenant-generals, nine major-generals, and three colonels, who sat on the fourteenth, and continued, by several adjournments, to the twentieth. Lieutenant-general Sir John Mordaunt came prisoner before the Court, and the following charge was exhibited

against

against him: namely, That he being appointed by the King, commander in chief of his Majesty's forces sent on an expedition to the coast of France, and having received orders and instructions relative thereto from his Majesty, under his royal sign-manual, and also by one of his principal Secretaries of State, had disobeyed his Majesty's said orders and instructions. The proceedings of this court were nearly similar to those of the court of enquiry. The same evidences were examined, with the addition of Sir Edward Hawke's deposition; and a defence, differing in no essential point from the former, made by the prisoner, but the judgment given was clear and explicit. Sir John Mordaunt was unanimously found, Not guilty, and therefore acquitted, while the publick opinion remained unaltered, and many persons inveighed as bitterly against the lenity of the present Court-martial as they had formerly against the severity of the sentence passed upon a late unfortunate Admiral. The evidence of one gentleman in particular drew attention: he was accused of tergiversation, and of showing that partial indulgence which his own conduct required. He publickly defended his character: his performance was censured, and himself dismissed the service of his sovereign.

§ XIV. Besides the diversion intended by a descent on the coast of France, several other methods were employed to amuse the enemy, as well as to protect the trade of the kingdom, secure our colonies in the West-Indies, and insure the continuance of the extraordinary success which had lately blessed his Majesty's arms in the East-Indies; but these we could not mention before without breaking the thread of our narration. On the ninth of February Admiral West sailed with a squadron of men of war to the westward, as did Admiral Coates with the fleet under his convoy to the West-Indies, and Commodore Steevens with the trade to the East-Indies, in the month of March. Admiral Holbourn

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and Commodore Holms, with eleven ships of the line, a fire-ship, bomb-ketch, and fifty transports, sailed from St. Helen's for America in April. The Admiral had on board six thousand two hundred effective men, exclusive of officers, under the command of General Hopson, assisted by Lord Charles Hay. In May, Admiral Osborne, who had been forced back to Plymouth with his squadron by stress of weather, set sail for the Mediterranean, as did two ships of war sent to convoy the American trade.

§ XV. In the mean time, the privateers fitted out by private merchants and societies greatly annoyed the French commerce. The Antigallican, a private ship of war, equipped by a society of men who assumed that name, took the Duke de Penthievre Indiaman off the port of Corunna, and carried her into Cadiz. The prize was estimated worth two hundred thousand pounds, and immediate application was made by France to the court of Spain for restitution, while the Proprietors of the Antigallican were squandering in mirth, festivity, and riot, the imaginary wealth so easily and unexpectedly acquired. Such were the remonstrances made to his Catholick Majesty with respect to the illegality of the prize, which the French East-India Company asserted was taken within shot of a neutral port, that the Penthievre was first violently wrested out of the hands of the captors, then detained as a deposit, with sealed hatches, and a Spanish guard on board, till the claims of both parties could be examined, and at last adjudged to be an illegal capture, and consequently restored to the French, to the great disappointment of the owners of the privateer. Besides the success which attended a great number of other privateers, the Lords of the Admiralty published a list of above thirty ships of war and privateers taken from the enemy, in the space of four months, by the English sloops and ships of war, exclusive of the

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Duke d'Aquitaine Indiaman, now fitted out as a ship of war, taken by the Eagle and Medway; the Pondicherry Indiaman, valued at one hundred and sixty thousand pounds, taken by the Dover man of war; and above six privateers brought into port by the diligent and brave Captain Lockhart, for which he was honoured with a variety of presents of plate by several corporations, in testimony of their esteem and regard. This run of good fortune was not, however, without some retribution on the side of the enemy, who, out of twenty-one ships, homeward-bound from Carolina, made prize of nineteen, whence the merchants sustained considerable damage, and a great quantity of valuable commodities, indigo in particular, was lost to this country.

§ XVI. Notwithstanding the large imports of grain from different parts of Europe and America, the artifice of engrossers still kept up the price of corn. So incensed were the populace at the iniquitous combinations entered into to frustrate the endeavours of the legislature, and to oppress the poor, that they rose in a tumultuous manner in several counties, sometimes to the number of five or six thousand, and seized upon the grain brought to market. Nor was it indeed to be wondered at, considering the distress to which many persons were reduced. The difficulty of obtaining the necessaries of life raised the price of labour at the most unseasonable time, when all manufacturers were overstocked for want of a proper market, which obliged them to dismiss above half the hands before employed. Hence arose the most pitiable condition of several thousands of useful industrious subjects; a calamity attended only with one advantage to the publick, namely, the facility with which recruits were raised for his Majesty's service. At last the plentiful crops with which it pleased Providence to bless these kingdoms, the prodigious quantities of corn imported from foreign countries, and the wise measures of the legislature

broke

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broke all the villainous schemes set on foot by the forestallers and engrossers, and reduced the price of corn to the usual standard. The publick joy on this event was greatly augmented by the safe arrival of the fleet from the Leeward Islands, consisting of ninety-two sail, and of the Straits fleet, esteemed worth three millions sterling, whereby the silk manufacturers in particular, were again employed, and their distresses relieved. About the same time the India Company was highly elated with the joyful account of the safe arrival and spirited conduct of three of their captains, attacked in their passage homeward by two French men of war, one of sixty-four, the other of twenty-six guns. After a warm engagement, which continued for three hours, they obliged the French ships to sheer of, with scarce any loss on their own side. When the engagement began, the captains had promised a reward of a thousand pounds to the crews, by way of incitement to their valour; and the Company doubled the sum, in recompence of their fidelity and courage. His Majesty having taken into consideration the incredible damage sustained by the commerce of these kingdoms, for want of proper harbours and forts on the western coast to receive, and protect merchantmen, was graciously pleased to order, that a temporary security should be provided for the shipping which might touch at Milford-haven, until the fortifications voted in Parliament could be erected. How far his Majesty's directions were complied with, the number of merchants ships taken by the enemy's privateers upon that coast sufficiently indicated.

§ XVII. Whatever reasons the Government had to expect the campaign should be vigorously pushed in America, almost every circumstance turned out contrary to expectation. Not all the endeavours of the Earl of Loudoun to quiet the dissensions among the different provinces, and to establish unanimity and harmony, could prevail. Circumstances re-

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quired that he should act the part of a mediator, in order to raise the necessary supplies for prosecuting the war, without which it was impossible he could appear in the character of a General. The enemy in the mean time, were pursuing the blow given at Oswego, and taking advantage of the distraction that appeared in the British councils. By their successes in the preceding campaign, they remained masters of all the lakes. Hence they were furnished with the means of practising on the Indians in all the different districts, and obliging them, by rewards, promises, and menaces, to act in their favour. Every accession to their strength was a real diminution of that of the British commander; but then the ignorance or pusillanimity of some of the inferior officers in our back settlements was, in effect, more beneficial to the enemy than all the vigilance and activity of Montcalm. In consequence of the shameful loss of Oswego, they voluntarily abandoned to the mercy of the French General the whole country of the Five Nations, the only body of Indians who had inviolably performed their engagements, or indeed who had preserved any sincere regard for the British government. The communication with these faithful allies was now cut off, by the imprudent demolition of the forts we possessed at the great Carrying-place. A strong fort, indeed, was built at Winchester, and called Fort Loudoun, after the commander in chief and four hundred Cherokee Indians joined the English forces at fort Cumberland: but this reinforcement by no means counterbalanced the losses sustained in consequence of our having imprudently stopped up Wood-creek, and filled it with logs. Every person, the least acquainted with the country, readily perceived the weakness of these measures, by which our whole frontier was left open and exposed to the irruption of the savages in the French interest, who would not fail to profit by our blunders, too notorious to

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escape them. By the removal of these barriers, a path was opened to our fine settlements on those grounds called the German Flats, and along the Mohawk's river, which the enemy destroyed with fire and sword before the end of the campaign.

§ XVIII. In the mean time, Lord Loudoun was taking the most effectual steps to unite the provinces, and raise a force sufficient to give some decisive blow. The attack on Crown-Point, which had been so long meditated, was laid aside, as of less importance than the intended expedition to Louisbourg, now substituted in its place, and undoubtedly a more considerable object in itself. Admiral Holbourn arrived at Hallifax, with the squadron and transports under his command, on the ninth of July; and it was his Lordship's intention to repair thither with all possible diligence, in order to take upon him the command of the expedition; but a variety of accidents interposed. It was with the utmost difficulty he at length assembled a body of six thousand men, with which he instantly began his march to join the troops lately arrived from England. When the junction was effected, the whole forces amounted to twelve thousand men; an army that raised great expectations. Immediately some small vessels were sent out to examine and reconnoitre the condition of the enemy, and the intermediate time was employed in embarking the troops, as soon as the transports arrived. The return of the scouts totally altered the face of affairs: they brought the unwelcome news, that M. de Bois de la Mothe, who sailed in the month of May from Brest with a large fleet of ships of war and transports, was now safe at anchor in the harbour of Louisbourg. Their intelligence was supported by the testimony of several deserters; yet still it wanted confirmation, and many persons believed their account of the enemy's strength greatly magnified. Such advices, however, could not but occasion extraordinary fluctuations in the

the councils of war at Hallifax. Some were for setting aside all thoughts of the expedition for that season; while others, more warm in their dispositions, and sanguine in their expectations, were for prosecuting it with vigour, in spite of all dangers and difficulties. Their disputes were carried on with great vehemence, when a packet bound from Louisbourg in France, was taken by one of the English ships stationed at Newfoundland. She had letters on board which put the enemy's superiority beyond all doubt, at least by sea. It clearly appeared, there were at that time in Louisbourg six thousand regular troops, three thousand natives, and one thousand three hundred Indians, with seventeen ships of the line, and three frigates moored in the harbour; that the place was well-supplied with ammunition, provision, and every kind of military stores; and that the enemy wished for nothing more than an attack, which it was probable would terminate to the disgrace of the assailants, and ruin of the British affairs in America. The commanders at Hallifax were fully apprised of the consequences of an unsuccessful attempt; it was, therefore, almost unanimously resolved to postpone the expedition to some more convenient opportunity, especially as the season was now far advanced, which alone would be sufficient to frustrate their endeavours, and render the enterprise abortive. This resolution seems, indeed, to have been the most eligible in their circumstances, whatever constructions might afterwards be given, with intention to prejudice the publick against the commander in chief.

§ XIX. Lord Loudoun's departure from New-York, with all the forces he was able to collect, afforded the Marquis de Montcalm the fairest occasion of improving the successes of the former campaign. That General had, in the very commencement of the season, made three different attacks on Fort William Henry, in all of which he was repulsed

by

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by the vigour and resolution of the garrison. But his disappointment here was balanced by an advantage gained by a party of regulars and Indians at Ticonderoga. Colonel John Parker, with a detachment of near four hundred men, went by water, in whale and bay boats, to attack the enemy's advanced guard at that place. Landing at night on an island, he sent before dawn three boats to the main land, which the enemy waylaid and took. Having procured the necessary intelligence from the prisoners of the Colonel's designs, they contrived their measures, placed three hundred men in ambush behind the point where he proposed landing, and sent three batteaux to the place of rendezvous. Colonel Parker mistaking these for his own boats, eagerly put to shore, was surrounded by the enemy, reinforced with four hundred men, and attacked with such impetuosity, that of the whole detachment, only two officers and seventy private men escaped. Flushed with this advantage, animated by the absence of the British commander in chief, then at Hallifax, and fired with a desire to revenge the disgrace he had lately sustained before Fort Henry, Montcalm drew together all his forces, with intention to lay siege to that place. Fort William-Henry stands on the southern coast of Lake George; it was built with a view to protect and cover the frontiers of the English colonies, as well as to command the lake: the fortifications were good, defended by a garrison of near three thousand men, and covered by an army of four thousand, under the conduct of General Webb, posted at no great distance. When the Marquis de Montcalm had assembled all the forces at Crown-Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent posts, together with a considerable body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in the whole to near ten thousand men, he marched directly to the fort, made his approaches, and began to batter it with a numerous train of artillery. On the very

very day he invested the place, he sent a letter to Colonel Monro, the Governor, telling him, he thought himself obliged, in humanity, to desire he would surrender the fort, and not provoke the great number of savages in the French army by a vain resistance. "A detachment of your garrison has "lately," says he, "experienced their cruelty; I have "it yet in my power to restrain them, and oblige "them to observe a capitulation, as none of them "hitherto are killed. Your persisting in the defence "of your fort can only retard its fate a few days, "and must of necessity expose an unfortunate garri-"son, who can possibly receive no relief, consider-ing the precautions taken to prevent it. I de-"mand a decisive answer, for which purpose I have "sent the Sieur Funtbrune one of my aides-du-"camp. You may credit what he will inform you "of, from Montcalm." General Webb beheld his preparations with an indifference and security bordering on infatuation. It is credibly reported, that he had private intelligence of all the French General's designs and motions; yet, either despising his strength, or discrediting the information, he neglected collecting the militia in time, which, in conjunction with his own forces, would probably have obliged Montcalm to relinquish the attempt, or, at least, have rendered his success very doubtful and hazardous. The enemy meeting with no disturbance from the quarter they most dreaded, prosecuted the siege with vigour, and were warmly received by the garrison, who fired with great spirit till they had burst almost all their cannon, and expended their ammunition. Neither Montcalm's promises or threats could prevail upon them to surrender while they were in a condition to defend themselves, or could reasonably expect assistance from General Webb. They even persisted to hold out after prudence dictated they ought to surrender. Colonel Monro was sensible of the importance of his charge,

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charge, and imagined that General Webb, though slow in his motions, would surely make some vigorous efforts either to raise the siege, or force a supply of ammunition, provision, and other necessaries, into the garrison. At length necessity obliged him, after sustaining a siege from the third to the ninth day of August, to hang out a flag of truce, which was immediately answered by the French commander. Hostages were exchanged, and articles of capitulation signed by both parties. It was stipulated, that the garrison of Fort William-Henry, and the troops in the retrenched camp, should march out with their arms, the baggage of the offices and soldiers, and all the usual necessaries of war, escorted by a detachment of French troops, and interpreters attached to the savages: that the gate of the fort should be delivered to the troops of the Most Christian King, immediately after signing the capitulation; and the retrenched camp, on the departure of the British forces: that the artillery, warlike stores, provision, and in general every thing, except the effects of soldiers and officers, should, upon honour, be delivered to the French troops; for which purpose it was agreed there should be delivered, with the capitulation, an exact inventory of the stores, and other particulars specified; that the garrison of the fort, and the troops in the retrenchment and dependencies, should not serve for the space of eighteen months, from the date of the capitulation, against his Most Christian Majesty, or his allies: that with the capitulation there should be delivered an exact state of the troops, specifying the names of the officers, engineers, artillery men, commissaries, and all employed: that the officers and soldiers, Canadians, women and savages, made prisoners by land since the commencement of the war in North-America, should be delivered in the space of three months at Carillon; in return for whom an equal number of the garrison of Fort Wil-

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liam-Henry should be capacitated to serve agreeably to the return given by the English officer, and the receipt of the French commanding officers, of the prisoners so delivered: that an officer should remain as an hostage, till the safe return of the escort sent with the troops of his Britannick Majesty: that the sick and wounded, not in a condition to be transported to fort Edward, should remain under the protection of the Marquis de Montcalm; who engaged to use them with tenderness and humanity, and to return them as soon as recovered: that provision for two days should be issued out for the British troops: that in testimony of his esteem and respect for Colonel Monro and his garrison, on account of their gallant defence, the Marquis de Montcalm should return one cannon, a six-pounder.—Whether the Marquis de Montcalm was really assiduous to have these articles punctually executed we cannot pretend to determine; but certain it is, they were perfidiously broke, in almost every instance. The savages in the French interest either paid no regard to the capitulation, or were permitted, from views of policy, to act the most treacherous, inhuman, and insidious part. They fell upon the British troops as they marched out, despoiled them of their few remaining effects, dragged the Indians in the English service out of their ranks, and assassinated them with circumstances of unheard-of-barbarity. Some British soldiers, with their wives and children, are said to have been savagely murdered by those Brutal Indians, whose ferocity the French commander could not effectually restrain. The greater part of the English garrison, however, arrived at fort Edward, under the protection of the French escort. The enemy demolished the fort, carried off the effects, provision, artillery, and every thing else left by the garrison, together with the vessels preserved in the lake, and departed, without pursuing their success by any other attempt. Thus ended

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ended the third campaign in America, where, with an evident superiority over the enemy, an army of twenty thousand regular troops, a great number of provincial forces, and a prodigious naval power, not less than twenty ships of the line, we abandoned our allies, exposed our people, suffered them to be cruelly massacred in sight of our troops, and relinquished a large and valuable tract of country, to the eternal reproach and disgrace of the British name.

§ XX. As to the naval transactions in this country, though less infamous, they were not less unfortunate. Immediately on Lord Loudoun's departure from Hallifax, Admiral Holbourn, now freed from the care of the transports, set sail for Louisbourg, with fifteen ships of the line, one ship of fifty guns, three small frigates, and a fire-ship. What the object of this cruise might have been can only be conjectured. Some imagine curiosity was the Admiral's sole motive, and the desire of informing himself with certainty of the enemy's strength, while others persuade themselves that he was in hopes of drawing M. de la Mothe to an engagement, notwithstanding his superiority in number of ships and weight of metal. Be this as it may, the British squadron appeared off Louisbourg on the twentieth day of August, and approaching within two miles of the batteries, saw the French Admiral make the signal to unmoor. Mr. Holbourn was greatly inferior in strength, and it is obvious that his design was not to fight the enemy, as he immediately made the best of his way to Hallifax. About the middle of September, being reinforced with four ships of the line, he again proceeded to Louisbourg, probably with intention, if possible, to draw the enemy to an engagement; but he found De la Mothe too prudent to hazard an unnecessary battle, the loss of which would have greatly exposed all the French colonies. Here the English squadron continued cruising until the twenty-fifth, when they

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were overtaken by a terrible storm from the southward. When the hurricane began, the fleet were about forty leagues distant from Louisbourg: but were driven in twelve hours, within two miles of the rocks and breakers on that coast, when the wind providentially shifted. The ship Tilbury was wrecked upon the rocks, and half her crew drowned. Eleven ships were dismasted, others threw their guns overboard, and all returned in a very shattered condition to England, at a very unfavourable season of the year. In this manner ended the expedition to Louisbourg, more unfortunate to the nation than the preceding designs upon Rochefort; less disgraceful to the commanders, but equally the occasion of ridicule and triumph to our enemies. Indeed, the unhappy consequences of the political disputes at home, the instability of the administration, and the frequent revolutions in our councils, were strongly manifested by that languor infused into all our military operations, and general unsteadiness in our pursuits. Faction, in the mother-country, produced divisions and misconduct in the colonies. No ambition to signalize themselves appeared among the officers, from the uncertainty whether their services were to be rewarded or condemned. Their attachment to particular persons, weakened the love they ought to have entertained for their country in general, and destroyed that spirit of enterprize, that firmness and resolution which constitutes the commander, and without which the best capacity, joined to the most uncorruptible integrity, can effect nothing.

§ XXI. The French King not only exerted himself against the English in America, but even extended his operations to their settlements in Africa, which he sent one of his naval commanders, with a small squadron, to reduce. This gentleman, whose name was Kersin, had scoured the coast of Guinea, and made prize of several English trading ships:

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but his chief aim was to reduce the castle at Cape-coast, of which had he gained possession, the other subordinate forts would have submitted without opposition. When Mr. Bell, the Governor of this castle, received intelligence that Mr. de Kersin was a few leagues to windward, and certainly intended to attack Cape-coast, his whole garrison did not exceed thirty white men, exclusive of a few Mulatto soldiers: his stock of ammunition was reduced to half a barrel of gunpowder; and his fortifications were so crazy and inconsiderable, that, in the opinion of the best engineers, they could not have sustained for twenty minutes the fire of one great ship, had it been properly directed and maintained. In these circumstances, few people would have dreamed of making any preparation for defence; but Mr. Bell entertained other sentiments, and acquitted himself with equal courage and discretion. He forthwith procured a supply of gunpowder, and a reinforcement of about fifty men, from certain trading vessels that happened to be upon that part of the coast. He mounted some spare cannon upon an occasional battery, and assembling a body of twelve hundred negroes, well armed, under the command of their chief, on whose attachment he could depend, and ordered them to take post at the place where he apprehended the enemy would attempt a landing. These precautions were hardly taken, when the French squadron, consisting of two ships of the line and a large frigate appeared, and in a little time their attack began; but they met with such a warm reception, that in less than two hours they desisted, leaving the castle very little damaged, and immediately made sail for the West-Indies, very much to the disappointment and mortification of the Dutch officers belonging to the fort of Elmina, in the same neighbourhood, who made no scruple of expressing their wishes publickly in favour of the French Commodore, and at a distance viewed the engagement with the

the most partial eagerness and impatience. M. de Kersin was generally blamed for his want of conduct and resolution in this attempt: but he is said to have been deceived in his opinion of the real state of Cape-coast castle, by the vigorous and resolute exertions of the Governor, and was apprehensive of losing a mast in the engagement; a loss which he could not have repaired on the whole coast of Africa. Had the fort of Cape-coast been reduced on this occasion, in all probability every petty republick of the negroes, settled under the protection of the forts on the Gold-coast would have revolted from the British interest: for while the French squadron, in their progress along shore, hovered in the offing at Annamaboe, an English settlement a few leagues to leeward of Cape-coast, John Corrantee, the caboceiro, chief magistrate and general of the Blacks on that part of the coast, whose adopted son had a few years before been caressed, and even treated as a Prince in England, taking it for granted that this enterprize of the French would be attended with success, actually sent some of his dependants, with a present of refreshments for their Commodore; the delivery of which, however, was prevented by Mr. Brew, the English chief of the fort, who shattered in pieces the canoe before it could be launched, and threatened with his cannon to level the black town with the dust. The caboceira, though thus anticipated in his design, resolved to be among the first who should compliment M. de Kersin on his victory at Cape-coast; and, with this view, prepared an embassy or deputation to go there by land; but understanding that the French had failed in their attempt, he shifted his design, without the least hesitation, and dispatched the same embassy to Mr. Bell, whom he congratulated on his victory, assuring him he had kept his men ready armed to march at the first summons to his assistance.

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§ XXII. In the East-Indies the scene was changed greatly to the honour and advantage of Great-Britain. There the commanders acted with that harmony, spirit, and unanimity becoming Britons, zealous for the credit of their King and the interest of their country. We left Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, advancing to Calcutta, to revenge the cruel tragedy acted upon their countrymen the preceding year. On the twenty-eighth of December, the fleet proceeded up the river: next day Colonel Clive landed, and, with the assistance of the squadron, in twenty-four hours, made himself master of Busbudgia, a place of great strength, though very ill defended. On the first of January the Admiral, with two ships, appeared before the town of Calcutta, and was received by a brisk fire from the batteries. This salute was returned so warmly, that the enemy's guns were soon silenced, and in less than two hours the place and fort were abandoned. Colonel Clive, on the other side, had invested the town, and made his attack with that vigour and intrepidity peculiar to himself, which greatly contributed to the sudden reduction of the settlement. As soon as the fort was surrendered, the brave and active Captain Coote, with his Majesty's troops, took possession, and found ninety-one pieces of cannon, four mortars, abundance of ammunition, stores, and provision, with every requisite for sustaining an obstinate siege. Thus the English were re-established in the two strongest fortresses in the Ganges, with the inconsiderable loss of nine seamen killed, and three soldiers. A few days after, Hughley, a city of great trade, situated higher up the river, was reduced with as little difficulty, but infinitely greater prejudice to the Nabob, as here his storehouses of salt, and vast granaries for the support of his army, were burnt and destroyed. Incensed at the almost instantaneous loss of all his conquests, and demolition of the city of Hughley, the Viceroy of Bengal discouraged all advances to an accommodation

accommodation which was proposed by the admiral and chiefs of the company, and assembled an army of twenty thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, fully resolved to expel the English out of his dominions, and take ample vengeance for the disgraces he had lately sustained. He was seen marching by the English camp in his way to Calcutta on the second of February, where he encamped, about a mile from the town. Colonel Clive immediately made application to the admiral for a reinforcement, and six hundred men, under the command of Captain Warwick, were accordingly drafted from the different ships, and sent to assist his little army. Clive drew out his forces, advanced in three columns towards the enemy, and began the attack so vigorously, that the Viceroy retreated, after a feeble resistance, with the loss of a thousand men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, five hundred horses, great number of draft bullocks, and four elephants. Though this advantage was less decisive than could be wished, yet it sufficiently intimidated the Nabob into concessions much to the honour and advantage of the Company. Admiral Watson gave him to understand in a letter, that this was no more than a specimen of what the British arms, when provoked, could perform. The Suba desired the negociation might be renewed, and in a few days the treaty was concluded. He promised not to disturb the English in any of those privileges or possessions specified in the firm, and granted by the Mogul: that all merchandize belonging to the company should pass and repass, in every part of the province of Bengal, free of duty: that all the English factories seized the preceding year, or since, should be restored, with the money, goods, and effects appertaining: that all damages sustained by the English should be repaired, and their losses repaid: that the English should have liberty to fortify Calcutta in whatever manner they thought proper without interruption: that

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that they should have the liberty of coining all the gold and bullion they imported, which should pass current in the province: that he would remain in strict friendship and alliance with the English, use his utmost endeavours to heal up the late divisions, and restore the former good understanding between them. All which several articles were solemnly signed and sealed with the Nabob's own hand.

§ XXIII. Such were the terms obtained for the Company, by the spirit and gallant conduct of the two English commanders. They had, however, too much discernment to rely on the promises of a barbarian, who had so perfidiously broke former engagements; but they prudently dissembled their sentiments, until they had thoroughly reinstated the affairs of the Company, and reduced the French power in this province. In order to adjust the points that required discussion, the select committee for the company's affairs appointed Mr. Watts, who had been released from his former imprisonment, as their commissary at the court of the Suba, to whom he was personally known, as well as to his ministers, among whom he had acquired a considerable influence. Nothing less could have balanced the interest which the French, by their art of intriguing, had raised among the favourites of the Viceroy. While Mr. Watts was employed at Muxadavad, in counterworking those intrigues, and keeping the Suba steady to his engagements, the Admiral and Mr. Clive resolved to avail themselves of their armament in attacking the French settlements in Bengal. The chief object of their designs was the reduction of Chandernagore, situated higher up the river than Calcutta, of considerable strength, and the chief in importance of any possessed by that nation in the bay. Colonel Clive being reinforced by three hundred men from Bombay, began his march to Chandernagore, at the head of seven hundred Europeans and one thousand six hundred Indians, where, on his

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first arrival, he took possession of all the out-posts, except one redoubt mounted with eight pieces of cannon, which he left to be silenced by the Admiral. On the 18th of March the Admirals Watson and Pococke arrived within two miles of the French settlement, with the Kent, Tiger, and Salisbury men of war, and found their passage obstructed by booms laid across the river, and several vessels sunk in the channel. These difficulties being removed, they advanced early on the twenty-fourth, and drew up in a line before the fort, which they battered with great fury for three hours; while Colonel Clive was making his approaches on the land side, and playing vigorously from the batteries he had raised. Their united efforts soon obliged the enemy to submission. A flag of truce was waved over the walls, and the place surrendered by capitulation. The keys were delivered to Captain Latham, of the Tiger; and in the afternoon Colonel Clive, with the King's troops, took possession. Thus the reduction of a strong fortress, garrisoned by five hundred Europeans, and one thousand two hundred Indians, defended by one hundred and twenty-three pieces of cannon, and three mortars, well provided with all kinds of stores and necessaries, and of very great importance to the enemy's commerce in India, was accomplished with a loss not exceeding forty men on the side of the conquerors. By the treaty of capitulation the director, counsellors, and inferior servants of the settlement, were allowed to depart with their wearing apparel; the Jesuits were permitted to take away their church ornaments, and the natives to remain in the full exertion of their liberties; but the garrison were to continue prisoners of war. The goods and money found in the place were considerable; but the principal advantage arose from the ruin of the head settlement of the enemy on the Ganges, which could not but interfere with the English commerce in these parts.

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§ XXIV. Success had hitherto attended all the operations of the British Commanders, because they were concerted with foresight and unanimity; and executed with that vigour and spirit which deservedly raised them in the high esteem of their country. They reduced the Nabob to reasonable terms of accommodation before they alarmed the French; and now the power of the latter was destroyed, they entered upon measures to oblige the treacherous Viceroy to a strict performance of the treaty he had so lately signed. However specious his promises were, they found him extremely dilatory in the execution of several articles of the treaty, which, in effect, was the same to the English commerce as if none had been concluded. The Company's goods were loaded with high duties, and several other infractions of the peace committed, upon such frivolous pretences, as evidently demonstrated that he sought to come to an open rupture as soon as his projects were ripe for execution. In a word, he discovered all along a manifest partiality to the French, whose emissaries cajoled him with promises that he should be joined by such a body of their European troops, under M. de Bussy, as would enable him to crush the power of the English, whom they had taught him to fear and to hate. As recommencing hostilities against so powerful a Prince was in itself dangerous, and, if possible, to be avoided, the affair was laid before the Council of Calcutta, and canvassed with all the circumspection and caution that a measure required, on which depended the fate of the whole trade of Bengal. Mr. Watts, from time to time, sent them intelligence of every transaction in the Suba's cabinet; and although that Prince publickly declared he would cause him to be impaled as soon as the English troops should be put in motion within the kingdom of Bengal, he bravely sacrificed his own safety to the interest of the Company, and exhorted them to proceed with vigour in their military operations.

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During these deliberations a most fortunate incident occurred, that soon determined the Council to come to an open rupture. The leading persons in the Viceroy's court found themselves oppressed by his haughtiness and insolence. The same spirit of discontent appeared among the principal officers of his army: they were well acquainted with his perfidy, saw his preparations for war, and were sensible that the peace of the country could never be restored, unless either the English were expelled, or the Nabob deposed. In consequence, a plan was concerted for divesting him of all his power; and the conspiracy was conducted by Jaffier Ali Khan, his prime minister and chief commander, a nobleman of great influence and authority in the province. The project was communicated by Ali Khan to Mr. Watts, and so improved by the address of that gentleman, as in a manner to ensure success. A treaty was actually concluded between this Meer Jaffier Ali Khan and the English Company; and a plan concerted with this nobleman and the other malcontents for their defection from the Viceroy. These previous measures being taken, Colonel Clive was ordered to take the field with his little army. Admiral Watson undertook the defence of Chandernagore, and the garrison was detached to reinforce the Colonel, together with fifty seamen to be employed as gunners, and in directing the artillery. Then Mr. Watts, deceiving the Suba's spies, by whom he was surrounded, withdrew himself from Muxadavad, and reached the English camp in safety. On the nineteenth of June a detachment was sent to attack Cutwa fort and town, situated on that branch of the river forming the island of Cassimbuzar. This place surrendered at the first summons; and here the Colonel halted with the army for three days, expecting advices from Ali Chan. Disappointed of the hoped-for intelligence, he crossed the river, and marched to Plaissey, where he encamped. On the twenty-third, at day-break the

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the Suba advanced to attack him, at the head of fifteen thousand horse, and near thirty thousand infantry, with about forty pieces of heavy cannon, conducted and managed by French gunners, on whose courage and dexterity he placed great dependance. They began to cannonade the English camp about six in the morning; but a severe shower falling at noon they withdrew their artillery. Colonel Clive seized this opportunity to take possession of a tank and two other posts of consequence, which they in vain endeavoured to retake. Then he stormed an angle of their camp, covered with a double breast-work, together with an eminence which they occupied. At the beginning of this attack, some of their chiefs being slain, the men were so dispirited, that they soon gave way; but still Meer Jaffier Ali Khan, who commanded the left wing, forbore declaring himself openly. After a short contest the enemy were put to flight, the Nabob's camp, baggage, and fifty pieces of cannon taken, and a most complete victory obtained. The Colonel, pursuing his advantage, marched to Muxadavad, the capital of the province, and was there joined by Ali Khan and the malcontents. It was before concerted that this nobleman should be invested with the dignity of Nabob; accordingly, the Colonel proceeded solemnly to depose Surajah Dowlat, and, with the same ceremony, to substitute Ali Khan in his room, who was publickly acknowledged by the people as Suba, or Viceroy, of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa. Soon after, the late Viceroy was taken, and put to death by his successor, who readily complied with all the conditions of his elevation. He conferred on his allies very liberal rewards, and granted the Company such extraordinary privileges, as fully demonstrated how justly he merited their assistance. By this alliance, and the reduction of Chandernagore, the French were entirely excluded the commerce of Bengal and its dependencies; the trade of

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the English Company was restored, and increased beyond their most sanguine hopes; a new ally was acquired, whose interest obliged him to remain firm to his engagements: a vast sum was paid to the Company and the sufferers at Calcutta, to indemnify them for their losses; the soldiers and seamen were gratified with six hundred thousand pounds, as a reward for the courage and intrepidity they exerted; and a variety of other advantages gained, which it would be unnecessary to enumerate. In a word, in the space of fourteen days a great revolution was effected, and the government of a vast country, superior in wealth, fertility, extent, and number of inhabitants to most European kingdoms, transferred by a handful of troops, conducted by an officer untutored in the art of war, and a General rather by intuition, than instruction and experience. But the publick joy at these signal successes was considerably diminished by the death of Admiral Watson, and the loss of Vizagapatam, an English settlement on the Coromandel coast. The Admiral fell a victim to the unwholesomeness of the climate, on the sixteenth of August, universally esteemed and regretted; and the factory and fort at Vizagapatam were surrendered to the French, a few days after Colonel Clive had defeated the Nabob.

§ XXV. We now turn our eyes to the continent of Europe, where we see the beginning of the year marked with a striking instance of the dreadful effects of frantick enthusiasm. France had long enjoyed a monarch, easy, complying, good-natured, and averse to all that wore the appearance of business or of war. Contented with the pleasures of indolence, he sought no greatness beyond what he enjoyed, nor pursued, any ambitious aim through the dictates of his own disposition. Of all men on earth such a prince had the greatest reason to expect an exemption from plots against his person, and cabals among his subjects; yet was an attempt made upon

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upon his life by a man, who, though placed in the lowest sphere of fortune, had resolution to face the greatest dangers, and enthusiasm sufficient to sustain, without shrinking, all the tortures which the cruelty of man could invent, or his crimes render necessary. The name of this fanatick was Robert Francis Damien, born in the suburb of St. Catharine, in the city of Arras. He had lived in the service of several families, whence he was generally dismissed on account of the impatience, the melancholy, and sullenness of his disposition. So humble was the station of a person, who was resolved to step forth from obscurity, and, by one desperate effort, draw upon himself the attention of all Europe. On the fifth day of January, as the King was stepping into his coach, to return to Trianon, whence he had that day come to Versailles, Damien, mingling among his attendants, stabbed him with a knife on the right side, between the fourth and fifth ribs. His Majesty applying his hand immediately to his side, cried out, "I am wounded! Seize him; but "do not hurt him." Happily the wound was not dangerous; as the knife, taking an oblique direction, missed the vital parts. As for the assassin, he made no attempts to escape; but suffering himself quietly to be seized, was conveyed to the guard-room, where being interrogated if he committed the horrid action, he boldly answered in the affirmative. A process against him was instantly commenced at Versailles: many persons, supposed accessaries to the design upon the King's life, were sent to the Bastile; the assassin himself was put to the torture, and the most excruciating torments were applied, with intention to extort a confession of the reasons that could induce him to so execrable an attempt upon his Sovereign. Incisions were made into the muscular parts of his legs, arms, and thighs, into which boiling oil was poured. Every refinement on cruelty, that human invention could suggest,

gest, was practised without effect: nothing could overcome his obstinacy; and his silence was construed into a presumption, that he must have had accomplices in the plot. To render his punishment more publick and conspicuous, he was removed to Paris, there to undergo a repetition of all his former tortures, with such additional circumstances, as the most fertile and cruel dispositions could devise for increasing his misery and torment. Being conducted to the Concergerie, an iron bed, which likewise served for a chair, was prepared for him, and to this he was fastened with chains. The torture was again applied, and a physician ordered to attend, to see what degree of pain he could support. Nothing, however, material was extorted; for what he one moment confessed, he recanted the next. It is not within our province, (and we consider it as a felicity,) to relate all the circumstances of this cruel and tragical event. Sufficient it is, that, after suffering the most exquisite torments that human nature could invent, or man support, his judges thought proper to terminate his misery by a death shocking to imagination, and shameful to humanity. On the twenty-eighth day of March he was conducted, amidst a vast concourse of the populace, to the Gréve, the common place of execution, stripped naked, and fastened to the scaffold by iron gyves. One of his hands was then burnt in liquid flaming sulphur: his thighs, legs, and arms were torn with red hot pincers; boiling oil, melted lead, resin, and sulphur, were poured into the wounds; tight ligatures tied round his limbs to prepare him for dismemberment; young and vigorous horses applied to the draft, and the unhappy criminal pulled, with all their force, to the utmost extention of his sinews, for the space of an hour; during all which time he preserved his senses and constancy. At length the physician and surgeon attending declared, it would be impossible to accomplish the dismemberment, unless the tendons

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tendons were separated: upon which orders were given to the executioner to cut the sinews at the joints of the arms and legs. The horses drew afresh: a thigh and an arm were separated, and after several pulls, the unfortunate wretch expired under the extremity of pain. His body and limbs were reduced to ashes under the scaffold; his father, wife, daughter and family banished the kingdom for ever; the mame of Damien effaced and obliterated, and the innocent involved in the punishment of the guilty. Thus ended the procedure against Damien and his family, in a manner not very favourable to the avowed clemency of Louis, or the acknowledged humanity of the French nation. It appeared from undoubted evidence, that the attempt on the King's life was the result of insanity, and a disturbed imagination. Several instances of a disordered mind had before been observed in his conduct, and the detestation justly due to the enormity of his crime ought now to have been absorbed in the consideration of his misfortune, the greatest that can befal human nature.

§ XXVI. Another remarkable event in France, in the beginning of this year, was the change in the ministry of that nation, by the removal of M. de Machoult, keeper of the seals, from the post of Secretary of State for the marine; and of M. d'Argenson from that of Secretary at War. Their dismission was sudden and unexpected; nor was any particular reason assigned for this very unexpected alteration. The French King, to show the Queen of Hungary how judiciously she had acted in forming an alliance with the House of Bourbon, raised two great armies; the first of which, composed of near eighty thousand men, the flower of the French troops, with a large train of artillery, was commanded by M. d'Etrées, a general of great reputation; under whom served M. de Contades, M. Chevert, and the Count de St. Germain, all officers

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of high character. This formidable army passed the Rhine early in the spring, and marched by Westphalia, in order to invade the King of Prussia's dominions, in quality of allies to the Empress-Queen, and guardians of the liberties of the Empire. But their real view was to invade Hanover, a scheme which they knew would make a powerful diversion of the British force from the prosecution of the war in other parts of the world, where the strength of France could not be fully exerted; and where their most valuable interests were at stake. They flattered themselves, moreover, that the same blow, by which they hoped to crush the King of Prussia, might likewise force his Britannick Majesty into some concessions with regard to America. The other army of the French, commanded by the Prince de Soubise, was destined to strengthen the Imperial army of execution, consisting of twenty-five thousand men, besides six thousand Bavarians, and four thousand Wirtembergers. But before these troops, under Soubise, passed the Rhine, they made themselves master of several places belonging to the King of Prussia upon the borders of the Low Countries*; whilst a detachment from d'Etrée's army seized upon the town of Embden, and whatever else belonged to the same monarch in East-Friesland.

§ XXVII. At the close of the last campaign, the King of Prussia having gained a petty advantage over the Imperialists under the command of Mareschal Brown, and incorporated into his own troops a great part of the Saxon army taken prisoners at Pirna, as was observed before, retired into winter-quarters until the season should permit him to improve these advantages. His Majesty and Mare-

* The King of Prussia had withdrawn his garrison from Cleves, not without suspicion of having purposely left this door open to the enemy, that their irruption into Germany might hasten the resolutions of the British ministry.

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schal Keith wintered in Saxony, having their cantonments between Pirna and the frontier along the Elbe; and Mareschal Schwerin, returning into Silesia, took up his quarters in the country of Glatz. In the mean time, the Empress-Queen, finding the force which she had sent out against the King of Prussia, was not sufficient to prevent his designs, made the necessary requisitions to her allies, for the auxiliaries they had engaged to furnish. In consequence of these requisitions, the Czarina, true to her engagements, dispatched above an hundred thousand of her troops, who began their march in the month of November, and proceeded to the borders of Lithuania, with design particularly to invade Ducal Prussia, whilst a strong fleet was equipped in the Baltick, to aid the operations of this numerous army. The Austrian army, assembled in Bohemia amounted to upwards of fourscore thousand men, commanded by Prince Charles of Lorraine and Mareschal Brown. The Swedes had not yet openly declared themselves; but it was well known, that though their King was allied in blood and inclination to his Prussian Majesty, yet the jealousy which the Senate of Sweden entertained of their Sovereign, and the hope of recovering their ancient possessions in Pomerania, by means of the present troubles, together with their old attachment to France, newly cemented by intrigues and subsidies, would certainly induce them to join the general confederacy. The Duke of Mecklenbourg took the same party, and agreed to join the Swedish army, when it should be assembled with six thousand men. Besides all these preparations against the King of Prussia, he was in his quality of Elector of Brandenbourg, put under the ban of the Empire by the aulic council; declared deprived of all his rights, privileges, and prerogatives; his fiefs were escheated into the Exchequer of the empire; and all the circles accordingly ordered

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to furnish their respective contingencies for putting this sentence in execution.

§ XXVIII. In this dangerous situation, thus menaced on all sides, and seemingly on the very brink of inevitable destruction, the Prussian monarch owed his preservation to his own courage and activity. The Russians, knowing that the country they were to pass through in their way to Lithuania would not be able to subsist their prodigious numbers, had taken care to furnish themselves with provisions for their march, depending upon the resources they expected to find in Lithuania after their arrival in that country. These provisions were exhausted by the time they reached the borders of that province, where they found themselves suddenly and unexpectedly destitute of subsistence, either to return back or to proceed forward. The King of Prussia had, with great prudence and foresight, secured plenty to himself, and distress and famine to his enemies, by buying up all the corn and forage of the country which these last were entering. Notwithstanding these precautions, his Prussian Majesty, to guard as much as could be against every possible event, sent a great number of gunners and matrosses from Pomerania to Memel, with three regiments of his troops, to re-enforce the garrison of that place. He visited all the posts which his troops possessed in Silesia, and gave the necessary orders for their security. He repaired to Niess, where he settled with Mareschal Schwerin the general plan of the operations of the approaching campaign. There it was agreed, that the Mareschal's army in Silesia, which consisted of fifty thousand men, should have in constant view the motions of the royal army, by which its own were to be regulated, that they might both act in concert, as circumstances should require. At the same time, other armies were assembled by the King of Prussia in Lusatia and Voigtland; twenty thousand men were collected at Zwickaw, on the frontiers of Bohemia,

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Bohemia, towards Egra, under the command of Prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau; and sixty thousand chosen troops began their march towards Great Zeidlitz, where their head-quarters were settled. In the mean while, the Austrian troops began to form on the frontiers of Saxony, where some of their detachments appeared, to watch the motions of the Prussians, who still continued to pursue their operations with great activity and resolution. All possible care was taken by the Prussians at Dresden to secure a retreat, in case of a defeat. As only one regiment of Prussians could be spared to remain there in garrison, the burghers were disarmed, their arms deposited in the arsenal, and a detachment was posted at Konigstein, to oblige that fortress to observe a strict neutrality. All correspondence with the enemy was strictly prohibited; and it having been discovered that the Countess of Ogilvie, one of the Queen's maids of honour, had disobeyed his Majesty's commands, she was arrested; but, on the Queen's intercession, afterwards released. The Countess of Bruhl, lady of the Saxon prime minister, was also arrested by his Prussian Majesty's order; and, on her making light of her confinement, and resolving to see company, she was ordered to quit the court, and retire from Saxony. M. Henwin, the French minister, was told that his presence was unnecessary at Dresden; and on his replying, that his master had commanded him to stay, he was again desired to depart; on which he thought proper to obey. The Count de Wackerbath, minister of the cabinet, and grand master of the household to the Prince Royal of Poland, was arrested, and conducted to Custrin, by the express command of his Majesty. The King of Prussia having thrown two bridges over the Elbe early in the spring, ordered the several districts of the Electorate of Saxony to supply him with a great number of waggons, each drawn by four horses. The circles of Misnia and Leipsick were enjoined to furnish

furnish four hundred each, and the other circles in proportion.

§ XXIX. While the King of Prussia was taking these measures in Saxony, two skirmishes happened on the frontiers of Bohemia, between his troops and the Austrians. On the twentieth of February, a body of six thousand Austrians surrounded the little town of Hirschfeld, in Upper Lusatia, garrisoned by a battalion of Prussian foot. The first attack was made at four in the morning, on two redoubts without the gates, each of which was defended by two field pieces: and though the Austrians were several times repulsed, they at last made themselves masters of one of the redoubts, and carried off the two pieces of cannon. In their retreat they were pursued by the Prussians, who fell upon their rear, killed some, and took many prisoners: this affair cost the Austrians at least five hundred men. About a fortnight after, the Prince of Bevern marched out of Zittau, with a body of near nine thousand men, in order to destroy the remaining strong holds possessed by the Austrians on the frontiers. In this expedition he took the Austrian magazine at Friedland in Bohemia, consisting of nine thousand sacks of meal, and great store of ammunition; and, after making himself master of Reichenberg, he returned to Zittau. The van of his troops, consisting of a hundred and fifty huzzars of the regiment of Putkammer, met with a body of six hundred Croats, sustained by two hundred Austrian dragoons of Bathiania, at their entering Bohemia; and immediately fell upon them sword in hand, killed about fifty, took thirty horses, and made ten dragoons prisoners. The Prussians, it is said, did not lose a single man on this occasion; and two soldiers only were slightly wounded, the Austrians having made but a slight resistance.

§ XXX. Whatever the conduct of the court of Vienna might have been to the allies of Great-Britain,

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tain, still, however, proper regard was shewn to the subjects of this crown: for an edict was published at Florence on the thirteenth of February, wherein his Imperial Majesty, as Grand Duke of Tuscany, declared his intention of observing the most scrupulous neutrality in the then situation of affairs. All the ports in that Duchy were accordingly enjoined to pay a strict regard to this declaration, in all cases relating to the French or English ships in the Mediterranean. The good effects of this injunction soon appeared; for two prizes taken by the English having put into Porto Ferraro, the Captains of two French privateers addressed themselves to the Governor, alledging, that they were captures of a pirate, and requesting that they might be obliged to put to sea: but the Governor prudently replied, That as they came in under English colours he would protect them: and forbad the privateers, at their peril, to commit any violence. They, however, little regarding the Governor's orders, prepared for sailing, and sent their boats to cut out one of the prizes. The captain, firing at their boats, killed one of their men, which alarming the centinels, notice was sent to the Governor; and he, in consequence, ordered the two privateers immediately to depart.—The conduct of the Dutch was rather cautious than spirited. Whilst his Prussian Majesty was employed on the side of Bohemia and Saxony, the French auxiliaries began their march to harass his defenceless territories in the neighbourhood of the Low Countries. A free passage was demanded of the States-General through Namur and Maestricht, for the provisions, ammunition, and artillery belonging to this new army; and though the English Ambassador remonstrated against their compliance, and represented it as a breach of the neutrality their High Mightinesses declared they would observe, yet, after some hesitation, the demand was granted; and their inability to prevent the passage of the French troops, should it

it be attempted by force, pleaded in excuse of their conduct.

§ XXXI. Scarcely had the French army, commanded by the Prince de Soubise, set foot in the territories of Juliers and Cologn, when they found themselves in possession of the duchy of Cleves and the county of Marck, where all things were left open to them, the Prussians, who evacuated their posts, taking their route along the river Lippe, in order to join some regiments from Magdebourg, who where sent to facilitate their retreat. The distressed inhabitants, thus exposed to the calamities of war from an unprovoked enemy, were instantly ordered to furnish contributions, forage, and provisions for the use of their invaders; and, what was still more terrifying to them, the partizan Fischer, whose cruelties, the last war, they still remembered with horror, was again let loose upon them by the inhumanity of the Empress-Queen. Wesel was immediately occupied by the French: Emmerick and Maseyk soon shared the same fate: and the city of Gueldres was besieged, the Prussians seeming resolved to defend this last place: to which end they opened the sluices, and laid the country under water. Those who retreated, filing off to the north-west of Paderborn, entered the county of Ritberg, the property of Count Caunitz Ritberg, great Chancellor to the Empress-Queen. After taking his castle, in which they found thirty pieces of cannon, they raised contributions in the district, to the amount of forty thousand crowns. As the Prussians retired, the French took possession of the country they quitted in the name of the Empress-Queen, whose commissary attended them for that purpose. The general rendezvous of these troops, under Prince Soubise, was appointed at Neuss, in the electorate of Cologn, where a large body of French was assembled by the first of April. The Austrians, in their turn, were not idle. Marshal Brown visited the fortifications of

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Brinn and Koninsgratz; reviewed the army of the late Prince Picolomini, now under the command of General Serbelloni; and put his own army in march for Kostlitz on the Elbe, where he proposed to establish his head-quarters.

§ XXXII. During the recess of the armies, while the rigours of winter forced them to suspend their hostile operations, and the greatest preparations were making to open the campaign with all possible vigour, Count Bestucheff, great Chancellor of Russia, wrote a circular letter to the Primate, Senators, and Ministers of the Republick of Poland, setting forth, "That the Empress of Russia was extremely affected with the King of Poland's distress, which she thought could not but excite the compassion of all other powers, but more especially of his allies: that the fatal consequences which might result from the rash step taken by the King of Prussia, not only with respect to the tranquillity of Europe in general, but of each power in particular, and more especially of the neighbouring countries, were so evident, that the interest and safety of the several princes rendered it absolutely necessary they should make it a common cause: not only to obtain proper satisfaction for those courts whose dominions had been so unjustly attacked, but likewise to prescribe such bounds to the King of Prussia as might secure them from any future apprehensions from so enterprising and restless a neighbour: that with this view, the empress was determined to assist the King of Poland with a considerable body of troops, which were actually upon their march*, under the command of General Apraxin; and that, as there would be an absolute necessity for their marching through part of the territories of Poland, her Imperial Majesty hoped the Republick would not fail to facilitate their march as much as possible. She further recommended to the Repub-

* This letter was written in December; and the Russians, as we observed before, began their march in November.

lick, to take some salutary measures for frustrating the designs of the King of Prussia, and restoring harmony among themselves, as the most conducive measure to these good purposes. In this, however, the Poles were so far from following her advice, that though sure of being sacrificed in this contest, which side soever prevailed, they divided into parties with no less zeal, than if they had as much to hope from the prevalence of one side, as to fear from that of the other. Some of the Palatines were for denying a passage to the Russians, and others were for affording them the utmost assistance in their power. With this cause of contention, others of a more private nature fatally concurred, by means of a misunderstanding between the Prince Czartorinski and Count Mnisnec. Almost every inhabitant of Warsaw was involved in the quarrel; and the violence of these factions was so great, that scarce a night passed without bloodshed, many dead bodies, chiefly Saxons, being found in the streets every morning.

§ XXXIII. In the mean time, Great-Britain, unsettled in her ministry and councils at home, unsuccessful in her attempts abroad, judging peace, if it could be obtained on just and honourable terms, more eligible than a continental war, proposed several expedients to the Empress-Queen for restoring the tranquillity of Germany; but her answer was, "That, whenever she perceived that the expedients proposed would indemnify her for the extraordinary expences she had incurred in her own defence, repair the heavy losses sustained by her ally the King of Poland, and afford a proper security for their future safety, she would be ready to give the same proofs she had always given of her desire to restore peace; but it could not be expected she should listen to expedients, of which the King of Prussia was to reap the whole advantage, after having begun the war, and wasted the dominions of a prince, who relied for his security upon the faith of treaties, and the

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the appearance of harmony between them." Upon the receipt of this answer, the court of London made several proposals to the Czarina, to interpose as mediatrix between the Courts of Vienna and Berlin, but they were rejected with marks of displeasure and resentment. When Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, the British Ambassador, continued to urge his solicitations very strongly, and even with some hints of menaces, an answer was delivered to him by order of the Empress, purporting, "That her Imperial Majesty was astonished at his demand, after he had already been made acquainted with the measures she had taken to effect a reconciliation between the courts of Vienna and Berlin. He might easily conceive as matters were then situated, that the earnestness with which he now urged the same proposition must necessarily surprise her Imperial Majesty, as it showed but little regard to her former declaration. The Empress, therefore, commanded his excellency to be told, that as her intentions contained in her first answer remained absolutely invariable, no ulterior propositions for a mediation would be listened to; and that as for the menaces made use of by his Excellency, and particularly that the King of Prussia himself would soon attack the Russian army, such threats served only to weaken the Ambassador's proposals; to confirm still more, were it possible, the Empress in her resolutions; to justify them to the whole world, and to render the King of Prussia more blameable."

§ XXXIV. The season now drawing on in which the troops of the contending powers would be able to take the field, and the alarming progress of the Russians being happily stopped, his Prussian Majesty, whose maxim it has always been to keep the seat of war as far as possible from his own dominions, resolved to carry it into Bohemia, and there to attack the Austrians on all sides. To this end he ordered his armies in Saxony, Misnia, Lusatia, and Silesia,

Silesia, to enter Bohemia in four different and opposite places, nearly at the same time. The first of these he commanded in person, assisted by Mareschal Keith; the second was led by Prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau, the third by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick-Bevern, and the fourth by Mareschal Schwerin. In consequence of this plan, Mareschal Schwerin's army entered Bohemia on the eighteenth of April, in five columns, at as many different places. The design was so well concerted, that the Austrians had not the least suspicion of their approach till they were past the frontiers, and then they filled the dangerous defile of Gulder-Oelse with Pandours, to dispute that passage; but they were no sooner discovered than two battalions of Prussian grenadiers attacked them with their bayonets fixed, and routed them. The Prince of Anhalt passed the frontiers, from Misnia, and penetrated into Bohemia on the twenty-first of April without any resistance. The Prince of Bevern, on the twentieth of the same month, having marched at the head of a body of the army, which was in Lusatia, from the quarters of cantonment near Zittau, possessed himself immediately of the first post on the frontier of Bohemia, at Krouttau and Grasenstein, without the loss of a single man: drove away the enemy the same day from Kratzen, and proceeded to Machendorf, near Reichenberg. The same morning Putkammer's hussars, who formed part of a corps, commanded by a colonel and major, routed some hundreds of the enemy's cuirassiers, posted before Cohlin, under the conduct of Prince Lichtenstein, took three officers and upwards of sixty horse prisoners, and so dispersed the rest, that they were scarcely able to rally near Kratzen. Night coming on obliged the troops to remain in the open air till the next morning, when at break of day, the Prussians marched in two columns by Habendorf, towards the enemy's army, amounting to twenty-eight thousand men, commanded

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manded by Count Konigseg, and posted near Reichsenberg. As soon as the troops were formed, they advanced towards the enemy's cavalry, drawn up in three lines of about thirty squadrons. The two wings were sustained by the infantry, which was posted among felled trees and entrenchments. The Prussians immediately cannonaded the enemy's cavalry, who received it with resolution, having on their right hand a village, and on their left a wood, where they had entrenched themselves. But the Prince of Bevern having caused fifteen squadrons of dragoons of the second line to advance, and the wood on his right to be attacked at the same time by the battalions of grenadiers of Kahlden and of Moellendorf, and by the regiment of the Prince of Prussia, his dragoons, who by clearing the ground, and possessing the entrenchment, had their flanks covered, entirely routed the enemy's cavalry. In the mean time Colonel Putkammer and Major Schenfeld, with their hussars, though flanked by the enemy's artillery, gave the Austrian horse-grenadiers a very warm reception, whilst General Lestewitz, with the left wing of the Prussians, attacked the redoubts that covered Reichenberg. Though there were many defiles and rising grounds to pass, all occupied by the Austrians, yet the regiment of Darmstadt forced the redoubt, and put to flight and pursued the enemy, after some discharge of their artillery and small arms, from one eminence to another, for the distance of a mile, when they left off the pursuit. The action began at half an hour after six, and continued till eleven. About one thousand of the Austrians were killed and wounded, among the former were General Porporati and Count Hohenfelds, and among the latter Prince Lichtenstein and Count Mansfeld. Twenty of their officers, and four hundred soldiers, were taken prisoners, and they also lost three standards. On the side of the Prussians seven subalterns, and about an hundred men, were killed, and sixteen officers and

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an hundred and fifty men wounded. After this battle Mareschal Schwerin joined the Prince of Bevern, made himself master of the greatest part of the circle of Buntzlau, and took a considerable magazine from the Austrians, whom he dislodged. The Prince Anhalt Dessau, with his corps, drew near the King of Prussia's army; then the latter advanced as far as Budin, from whence the Austrians, who had an advantageous camp there, retired to Westwarn, half-way between Budin and Prague; and his Prussian Majesty having passed the Egra, his army, and that of Mareschal Schwerin, were so situated, as to be able to act jointly.

§ XXXV. These advantages were but a prelude to a much more decisive victory, which the King himself gained a few days after. Preparing to enter Bohemia, at a distance from any of the corps commanded by his Generals, he made a movement as if he had intended to march towards Egra. The enemy, deceived by this feint, and imagining he was going to execute some design, distinct from the object of other armies, detached a body of twenty thousand men to observe his motions; then he made a sudden and masterly movement to the left, by which he cut off all communication between that detachment and the main army of the Austrians, which having been reinforced by the army of Moravia, by the remains of the corps lately defeated by the Duke of Bevern, and by several regiments of the garrison of Prague, amounted to near a hundred thousand men. They were strongly entrenched on the banks of the Moldaw, to the north of Prague, in a camp so fortified by every advantage of nature, and every contrivance of art, as to be deemed almost impregnable. The left wing of the Austrians, thus situated, was guarded by the mountains of Ziscka, and the right extended as far as Herboholi: Prince Charles of Lorraine, and Mareschal Brown, who commanded them, seemed determined to maintain this

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this advantageous post; but the King of Prussia overlooked all difficulties. Having thrown several bridges over the Moldaw on the fifth of May, he passed that river in the morning of the sixth, with thirty thousand men, leaving the rest of the army under the command of the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau; and being immediately joined by the troops under Mareschal Schwerin and the Prince of Bevern, resolved to attack the enemy on the same day. In consequence of this resolution, his army filed off on the left by Potschernitz; and at the same time Count Brown wheeled to the right, to avoid being flanked. The Prussians continued their march to Bichwitz, traversing several defiles and morasses, which for a little time separated the infantry from the rest of the army. The foot began the attack too precipitately, and were at first repulsed, but they soon recovered themselves. While the King of Prussia took the enemy in flank, Mareschal Schwerin advanced to a marshy ground, which suddenly stopping his army, threatened to disconcert the whole plan of operation. In this emergency, he immediately dismounted, and taking the standard of the regiment in his hand, boldly entered the morass, crying out, "Let all "brave Prussians follow me." Inspired by the example of this great commander, now eighty-two years of age, all the troops pressed forward, and though he was unfortunately killed by the first fire, their ardour abated not till they had totally defeated the enemy. Thus fell Mareschal Schwerin, loaded with years and glory, an officer whose superior talants in the military art had been displayed in a long course of faithful service. In the mean time, the Prussian infantry, which had been separated in the march, forming themselves afresh, renewed the attack on the enemy's right, and entirely broke it, while their cavalry, after three charges, obliged that of the Austrians to retire in great confusion, the centre being at the same time totally routed. The left

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wing of the Prussians then marched immediately towards Michely, and being there joined by the horse, renewed their attack, while the enemy were retreating hastily towards Saszawar. Mean while the troops on the right of the Prussian army attacked the remains of the left wing of the Austrians, and made themselves masters of three batteries. But the behaviour of the infantry in the last attack was so successful, as to leave little room for this part of the cavalry to act. Prince Henry of Prussia, and the Prince of Bevern, signalized themselves on this occasion in storming two batteries; Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick took the left wing of the Austrians in flank, while the King with his left, and a body of cavalry, secured the passage of the Moldaw. In short, after a very long and obstinate engagement, and many signal examples of valour on both sides, the Austrians were forced to abandon the field of battle, leaving behind sixty pieces of cannon, all their tents, baggage, military chest, and, in a word, their whole camp. The weight of the battle fell upon the right wing of the Austrians, the remains of which, to the amount of ten or twelve thousand men, fled towards Beneschau, where they afterwards assembled under M. Pretlach, General of horse. The infantry retired towards Prague, and threw themselves into that city with their commanders, Prince Charles of Lorraine, and Mareschal Brown; but they were much harassed in their retreat by a detachment of the Prussians under Mareschal Keith. The Prussians took, on this occasion, ten standards, and upwards of four thousand prisoners, thirty of whom were officers of rank. Their loss amounted to about two thousand five hundred killed, and about three thousand wounded. Among the former were General d'Amstel, the Prince of Holstein-Beck, the Colonels Goltze and Manstein, and Lieutenant-Colonel Boke. Among the latter, the Generals Wenterfield, De la Mothe, Feuque, Hautcharmoy, Blakensee, and

and Plettenberg. The number of the killed and wounded on the side of the Austrians was much greater. Among these last was Mareschal Brown, who received a wound, which, from the chagrin he suffered, rather than from its own nature, proved mortal. The day after the battle, Colonel Meyer was detached with a battalion of Prussian Pandours, and four hundred hussars, to destroy a very considerable and valuable magazine of the Austrians at Pilsen, and this service he performed. He also completed the destruction of several others of less importance; by the loss of which, however, all possibility of subsistence was cut off from any succours the Austrians might have expected from the Empire.

§ XXXVI. The Prussians, following their blow, immediately invested Prague on both sides of the river, the King commanding on one side, and Mareschal Keith on the other. In four days the whole city was surrounded with lines and entrenchments, by which all communication from without was entirely cut off: Prince Charles of Lorraine and Mareschal Brown, the two Princes of Saxony, the Prince of Modena, the Duke d'Aremberg, Count Lacy, and several other persons of great distinction, were shut up within the walls, together with above twenty thousand of the Austrian army, who had taken refuge in Prague after their defeat. Every thing continued quiet on both sides, scarce a cannon-shot being fired by either for some time after this blockade was formed; and in the mean time after this blockade made themselves masters of Cziscaberg, an eminence which commands the town, where the Austrians had a strong redoubt, continuing likewise to strengthen their works. Already they had made a sally, and taken some other ineffectual steps to recover this post; but a more decisive stroke was necessary. Accordingly, a design was formed of attacking the Prussian army in the night with a body of twelve thousand

thousand men, to be sustained by all the grenadiers, volunteers, Pandours, and Hungarian infantry. In case an impression could be made on the King's lines, it was intended to open a way, sword in hand, through the camp of the besiegers, and to ease Prague of the multitude of forces locked up useless within the walls, serving only to consume the provisions of the garrison, and hasten the surrender of the place. Happily a deserter gave the Prince of Prussia intelligence of the enemy's design about eleven o'clock at night. Proper measures were immediately taken for their reception, and in less than a quarter of an hour the whole army was under arms. This design was conducted with so much silence, that though the Prussians were warned of it they could discover nothing before the enemy had charged their advanced posts. Their attack was begun on the side of the little town, against Mareschal Keith's camp, and the left wing of the Prussian army encamped on the Moldaw. From hence it is probable the Austrians proposed not only to destroy the batteries that were raising, but to attack the bridges of communication which the Prussians threw over the Moldaw, at about a quarter of a German mile above and below Prague, at Branig and Podbaba. The greatest alarm began about two o'clock, when the enemy hoped to have come silently and unexpectedly upon the miners, but they had left work about a quarter of an hour before. At the report of the first piece which they fired, the piquet of the third battalion of Prussian guards, to the number of an hundred men, who marched out of the camp to sustain the body which covered the works, was thrown into some confusion, from the darkness of the night, which prevented their distinguishing the Austrian troops from their own. Lieutenant Jork, detached with two platoons to reconnoitre the enemy, attempting to discover their disposition by kindling a fire, Captain Rodig, by the light of this fire, per-

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ceived the enemy's situation, immediately formed the design of falling upon them in flank, and gave orders to his men to fire in platoons, which they performed, mutually repeating the signal given by their commander. The enemy fled with the greater precipitation, as they were ignorant of the weakness of the piquet, and as the shouting of the Prussian soldiers made them mistake it for a numerous body. Many of them deserted, many took shelter in Prague, and many more were driven into the river and drowned. At the same time this attack began, a regiment of horse-grenadiers fell upon a redoubt which the Prussians had thrown up, supported by the Hungarian infantry: they returned three times to the assault, and were as often beat back by the Prussians, whom they found it impossible to dislodge; though Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick's battalion, which guarded this post, suffered extremely. During this attack the enemy kept an incessant fire with their musquetry upon the whole front of the Prussians, from the convent of St. Margaret to the river. At three in the morning the Prussians quitted their camp to engage the enemy. The battalion of Pannewitz attacked a building called the Red-house, situated at the bottom of a declivity before Wellastowitz. The Pandours, who had taken possession of this house, fired upon them incessantly from all the doors and windows until they were dislodged; and the Prussian battalions were obliged to sustain the fire both of cannon and musquetry for above two hours, when the enemy retired to the city, except the Pandours, who again took possession of the Red-house, which the Prussians were forced to abandon, because the artillery of Prague kept a continual fire upon it from the moment it was known to be in their hands. The Austrians left behind them many dead and wounded, besides deserters; and the Prussians, notwithstanding the loss of several officers and private men, made some prisoners.

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Prince Ferdinand, the King of Prussia's youngest brother, had a horse killed under him, and was slightly wounded in the face.

§ XXXVII. The Prussian works being completed, and heavy artillery arrived, four batteries erected on the banks of the Moldaw began to play with great fury. Near three hundred bombs, besides an infinity of ignited balls, were thrown into the city in the space of twenty-four hours. The scene was lamentable, houses, men, and horses wrapped in flames, and reduced to ashes. The confusion within, together with the want of proper artillery and ammunition, obliged the Austrians to cease firing, and furnished his Prussian Majesty with all the opportunity he could wish of pouring destruction upon this unfortunate city. The horrors of war seemed to have extinguished the principles of humanity. No regard was paid to the distress of the inhabitants; the Austrians obstinately maintained possession, and the Prussians practised every stratagem, every barbarous refinement, that constitutes the military art, to oblige them to capitulate. After the conflagration had lasted three days, and consumed a prodigious number of buildings, the principal inhabitants, burghers, and clergy, perceiving their city on the point of being reduced to a heap of rubbish, besought the commander, in a body, to hearken to terms; but he was deaf to the voice of pity, and, instead of being moved with their supplications, drove out twelve thousand persons, the least useful in defending the city. These, by order of his Prussian Majesty, were again forced back, which soon produced so great a scarcity of provision within the walls, that the Austrians were reduced to the necessity of eating horse-flesh, forty horses being daily distributed to the troops, and the same food sold at four-pence a pound to the inhabitants. However, as there still remained great abundance of corn, they were far from being

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brought to the last extremity. Two vigorous and well conducted sallies were made, but they proved unsuccessful. The only advantage resulting from them, was the perpetual alarm in which they kept the Prussian camp, and the vigilance required to guard against the attacks of a numerous, resolute, and desperate garrison.

§ XXXVIII. Whatever difficulties might have attended the conquest of Prague, certain it is, that the affairs of the Empress-Queen were in the most critical and desperate situation. Her grand army dispersed in parties, and flying for subsistence in small corps; their Princes and Commanders cooped up in Prague; that capital in imminent danger of being taken, the flourishing kingdom of Bohemia ready to fall into the hands of the conqueror; a considerable army on the point of surrendering prisoners of war; all the Queen's hereditary dominions open and exposed, the whole fertile tract of country from Egra to the Moldaw in actual possession of the Prussians, the distance to the Archduchy of Austria not very considerable, and secured only by the Danube; Vienna under the utmost apprehensions of a siege, and the Imperial family ready to take refuge in Hungary; the Prussian forces deemed invincible, and the sanguine friends of that Monarch already sharing with him, in imagination, the spoils of the ancient and illustrious House of Austria. Such was the aspect of affairs, and such the difficulties to be combated, when Leopold, Count Daun, was appointed to the command of the Austrian forces, to stem the torrent of disgrace, and turn the fortune of the war. This General, tutored by long experience under the best officers of Europe, and the particular favourite of the great Kevenhuller, was now, for the first time, raised to act in chief, at the head of an army, on which depended the fate of Austria and the empire. Born of a noble family, he relied solely upon his own merit, without soliciting court-

favour;

favour; he aspired after the highest preferment, and succeeded by mere dint of superior worth. His progress from the station of a subaltern was slow and silent; his promotion to the chief command was received with universal esteem and applause. Cautious, steady, penetrating, and sagacious, he was opposed as another Fabius to the modern Hannibal, to check the fire and vigour of that Monarch by prudent foresight and wary circumspection. Arriving at Bœmischbrod, within a few miles of Prague, the day after the late defeat, he halted to collect the fugitive corps and broken remains of the Austrian army, and soon drew together a force so considerable as to attract the notice of his Prussian Majesty, who detached the Prince of Bevern, with twenty battalions, and thirty squadrons, to attack him before numbers should render him formidable. Daun was too prudent to give battle, with dispirited troops, to an army flushed with victory. He retired on the first advice that the Prussians were advancing, and took post at Kolin, where he entrenched himself strongly, opened the way for the daily supply of recruits sent to his army, and inspired the garrison of Prague with fresh courage, in expectation of being soon relieved. Here he kept close within his camp, divided the Prussian force, by obliging the King to employ near half his army in watching his designs, weakened his efforts against Prague, harassed the enemy by cutting off their convoys, and restored, by degrees, the languishing and almost desponding spirits of his troops. Perfectly acquainted with the ardour and discipline of the Prussian forces, with the enterprising and impetuous disposition of that Monarch, and sensible that his situation would prove irksome and embarrassing to the enemy, he improved it to the best advantage, seemed to foresee all the consequences, and directed every measure to produce them. Thus he retarded the enemy's operations, and assiduously avoided precipitating an

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action until the Prussian vigour should be exhausted, their strength impaired by losses and desertion, the first fire and ardour of their genius extinguished by continual fatigue and incessant alarms, and until the impression made on his own men, by the late defeat, should, in some degree, be effaced. The event justified Daun's conduct. His army grew every day more numerous, while his Prussian Majesty began to express the utmost impatience at the length of the siege. When that Monarch first invested Prague, it was on the presumption that the numerous forces within the walls would, by consuming all the provision, oblige it to surrender in a few days; but perceiving that the Austrians had still a considerable quantity of corn, that Count Daun's army was daily increasing, and would soon be powerful enough not only to cope with the detachment under the Prince of Bevern, but in a condition to raise the siege, he determined to give the Count battle with one part of his army, while he kept Prague blocked up with the other. The Austrians, amounting now to sixty thousand men, were deeply entrenched, and defended by a numerous train of artillery, placed on redoubts and batteries erected on the most advantageous posts. Every accessible part of the camp was fortified with lines and heavy pieces of battering cannon, and the foot of the hills secured by difficult defiles. Yet, strong as this situation might appear, formidable as the Austrian forces certainly were, his Prussian Majesty undertook to dislodge them with a body of horse and foot not exceeding thirty-two thousand men.

§ XXXIX. On the thirteenth day of June, the King of Prussia quitted the camp before Prague, escorted by a few battalions and squadrons, with which he joined the Prince of Bevern at Milkowitz. Mareschal Keith, it is said, strenuously opposed this measure, and advised either raising the siege entirely,

entirely, and attacking the Austrians with the united forces of Prussia, or postponing the attack on the camp at Kolin, until his Majesty should either gain possession of the city, or some attempts should be made to oblige him to quit his posts. From either measure an advantage would have resulted. With his whole army he might probably have defeated Count Daun, or at least have obliged him to retreat. Had he continued within his lines at Prague, the Austrian General could not have constrained him to raise the siege without losing his own advantageous situation, and giving battle upon terms nearly equal. But the King, elated with success, impetuous in his valour, and confident of the superiority of his own troops in point of discipline, thought all resistance must sink under the weight of his victorious arm, and yield to that courage which had already surmounted such difficulties, disregarded the Mareschal's sage counsel, and marched up to the attack undaunted, and even assured of success. By the eighteenth the two armies were in sight, and his Majesty found that Count Daun had not only fortified his camp with all the heavy cannon of Olmutz, but was strongly reinforced with troops from Moravia and Austria, which had joined him after the King's departure from Prague. He found the Austrians drawn up in three lines upon the high grounds between Genlitz and St. John the Baptist. Difficult as it was to approach their situation, the Prussian infantry marched up with firmness, while shot was poured like hail from the enemy's batteries, and began the attack about three in the afternoon. They drove the Austrians with irresistible intrepidity from two eminences secured with heavy cannon, and two villages defended by several battalions; but, in attacking the third eminence, were flanked by the Austrian cavalry, by grape-shot poured from the batteries; and, after a violent conflict, and prodigious loss of men, thrown into disorder.

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order. Animated with the King's presence, they rallied, and returned with double ardour to the charge, but were a second time repulsed. Seven times successively did Prince Ferdinand renew the attack, performing every duty of a great general and valiant soldier, though always with the same fortune. The inferiority of the Prussian infantry, the disadvantages of ground, where the cavalry could not act, the advantageous situation of the enemy, their numerous artillery, their entrenchments, numbers, and obstinacy, joined to the skill and conduct of their General, all conspired to defeat the hopes of the Prussians, to surmount their valour, and oblige them to retreat. The King then made a last and furious effort, at the head of the cavalry, on the enemy's left wing, but with as little success as all the former attacks. Every effort was made, and every attempt was productive only of greater losses and misfortunes. At last, after exposing his person in the most perilous situations, his Prussian Majesty drew off his forces from the field of battle, retiring in such good order, in sight of the enemy, as prevented a pursuit, or the loss of his artillery and baggage. Almost all the officers on either side distinguished themselves; and Count Daun, whose conduct emulated that of his Prussian Majesty, received two slight wounds, and had a horse killed under him. The losses of both armies were very considerable: on that of the Prussians, the killed and wounded amounted to eight thousand; less pernicious, however, to his Majesty's cause than the frequent desertions, and other innumerable ill consequences that ensued.

§ XL. When the Prussian army arrived at Nimburgh, his Majesty, leaving the command with the Prince of Bevern, took horse, and, escorted by twelve or fourteen Hussars, set out for Prague, where he arrived next morning without halting, after having been the whole preceding day on horse-

back.

back. Immediately he gave orders for sending off all his artillery, ammunition and baggage; these were executed with so much expedition, that the tents were struck, and the army on their march, before the garrison were informed of the King's defeat. Thus terminated the battle of Kolin and siege of Prague, in which the acknowledged errors of his Prussian Majesty were, in some measure, atoned by the candour with which he owned his mistake, both in a letter to the Earl Mareschal*, and in conversation with several of his general officers. Most people, indeed, imagined the King highly blameable for checking the ardour of his troops to stop and lay siege to Prague. They thought he should have pursued his conquests, over-run Austria, Moravia, and all the hereditary dominions, from which alone the Empress-Queen could draw speedy succours. A body of twenty or thirty thousand men would have blocked up Prague, while the remainder of the Prussian forces might have obliged the Imperial family to retire from Vienna, and effectu-

* "The imperial grenadiers, says he, are an admirable corps; one hundred companies defended a rising ground, which my best infantry could not carry. Ferdinand who commanded them, returned seven times to the charge; but to no purpose. At first he mastered a battery, but could not hold it. The enemy had the advantage of a numerous and well-served artillery. It did honour to Lichtenstein, who had the direction. Only the Prussian army can dispute it with him. My infantry were too few. All my cavalry were present, and idle spectators, excepting a bold push by my Household troops, and some dragoons. Ferdinand attacked without powder; the enemy, in return, were not sparing of their's. They had the advantage of a rising ground, of entrenchments, and of a prodigious artillery. Several of my regiments were repulsed by their musquetry. Henry performed wonders. I tremble for my worthy*brothers; they are too brave. Fortune turned her back on me this day. I ought to have expected it; she is a female, and I am no gallant. In fact, I ought to have had more infantry. Success, my dear Lord, often occasions destructive confidence. Twenty-four battalions were not sufficient to dislodge sixty thousand men from an advantageous post. Another time we will do better.——What say you of this league, which has only the Marquis of Brandenburgh for its object? The great Elector would be surprised to see his grandson at war with the Russians, the Austrians, almost all Germany, and an hundred thousand French auxiliaries I know not whether it would be disgrace in me to submit, but I am sure there will be no glory in vanquishing me."

BOOK III. 1757. ally prevented Count Daun from assembling another army. It was universally expected he would have bent his march straight to this capital; but he dreaded leaving the numerous army in Prague behind, and it was of great importance to complete the conquest of Bohemia. The Prince of Prussia marched all night with his corps to Nimburgh, where he joined the Prince of Bevern, and Mareschal Keith retreated next day. Count Brown having died before, of the wounds he received on the sixth of May, Prince Charles of Lorraine sallied out with a large body of Austrians, and attacked the rear of the Prussians; but did no further mischief than killing about two hundred of their men. The siege of Prague being thus raised, the imprisoned Austrians received their deliverer, Count Daun, with inexpressible joy, and their united forces became greatly superior to those of the King of Prussia, who was in a short time obliged to evacuate Bohemia, and take refuge in Saxony. The Austrians harassed him as much as possible in his retreat; but their armies, though superior in numbers, were not in a condition, from their late sufferings, to make any decisive attempt upon him, as the frontiers of Saxony abound with situations easily defended.

§ XLI. Having thus described the progress of the Prussians in Bohemia, we must cast our eyes on the transactions which distinguished the campaign in Westphalia. To guard against the storm which menaced Hanover in particular, orders were transmitted thither to recruit the troops that had been sent back from England, to augment each company, to remount the cavalry with the utmost expedition; not to suffer any horses to be conveyed out of the electorate; to furnish the magazines in that country with all things necessary for fifty thousand men. Of these twenty-six thousand were to be Hanoverians, and, in consequence of engagements entered into for that purpose, twelve thousand Hes-

sians,

sians, six thousand Brunswickers, two thousand Saxe Gothans, and a thousand Lunenburghers, to be joined by a considerable body of Prussians, the whole commanded by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland. The King of England having published a manifesto, dated at Hanover, specifying his motives for taking the field in Westphalia, the troops of the confederated states that were to compose the allied army, under the name of an army of observation, began to assemble with all possible diligence near Bielefeldt. Thither the Generals, appointed to command the several divisions, repaired, to settle the plan of operations with their commander, the Duke of Cumberland, who, having left London on the ninth of April, arrived on the sixteenth at Hanover, and from thence repaired to the army, which, having been joined by three Prussian regiments that retired from Wesel, consisted of thirty-seven battalions and thirty-four squadrons. Of these, six battalions and six squadrons were posted at Bielefeldt, under the command of Lieutenant-General Baron de Sporcken; six battalions, under Lieutenant-General de Block, at Hervorden; six battalions and four squadrons, under Major-General Ledebour, between Hervorden and Minden; seven battalions and ten squadrons, under Lieutenant-General d'Oberg in the neighbourhood of Hamelen; and five battalions and four squadrons, under Major-General de Hauss, near Nienburgh. The head-quarters of his Royal Highness were at Bielefeldt.

§ XLII. In the mean time, the French on the Lower Rhine continued filing off incessantly. The siege of Gueldres was converted into a blockade, occasioned by the difficulties the enemy found in raising batteries; and a party of Hanoverians having passed the Weser, as well to ravage the country of Paderbourn as to reconnoitre the French, carried off several waggons loaded with wheat and oats, destined

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destined for the territories of the Elector of Cologn. On the other hand, Colonel Fischer having had an engagement with a small body of Hanoverians, in the county of Mecklenburgh, routed them, and made some prisoners. After several other petty skirmishes between the French and the Hanoverians, the Duke of Cumberland altered the position of his camp, by placing it between Bielefeldt and Hervorden, in hopes of frustrating the design of the enemy; who, declining to attack him on the side of Bracwede, after having reconnoitred his situation several days, made a motion on their left, as if they meant to get between him and the Weser. This step was no sooner taken, than, on the thirteenth of June in the afternoon, having received advice that the enemy had caused a large body of troops, followed by a second, to march on his right to Burghotte, he ordered his army to march that evening towards Hervorden; and, at the same time, Major-General Hardenberg marched with four battalions of grenadiers, and a regiment of horse, to reinforce that post. Count Schulenberg covered the left of the march with a battalion of grenadiers, a regiment of horse, and the light troops of Buckeburgh. The whole army marched in two columns. The right, composed of horse, and followed by two battalions, to cover their passage through the enclosures and defiles, passed by the right of Bielefeldt; and the left, consisting of infantry, marched by the left of the same town. The vanguard of the French army attacked the rear-guard of the Allies, commanded by Major-General Einsiedel, very briskly, and at first put them into some confusion, but they immediately recovered themselves. This was in the beginning of the night. At break of day the enemy's reinforcements returned to the charge, but were again repulsed, nor could they once break through Lieutenant-Colonel Alfeldt's Hanoverian guards, which closed the army's march with a detachment of

of regular troops, and a new raised corps of hunters.

§ XLIII. The Allies encamped at Cofeldt the fourteenth, and remained there all the next day, when the enemy's detachments advanced to the gates of Hervorden, and made a feint as if they would attack the town, after having summoned it to surrender; but they retired without attempting any thing further; in the mean time, the troops that were posted at Hervorden, and formed the rear-guard, passed the Weser on the side of Remen, without any molestation, and encamped at Holtzuysen. A body of troops which had been left at Bielefeldt, to cover the Duke's retreat, after some skirmishes with the French, rejoined the army in the neighbourhood of Herfort; and a few days after, his Royal Highness drew near his bridges on the Weser, and sent over his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. At the same time some detachments passed the river on the right, between Minden and Oldendorp, and marked out a new camp advantageously situated, having the Weser in front, and the right and left covered with eminences and marshes. There the army under his Royal Highness re-assembled, and the French fixed their head-quarters at Bielefeldt, which the Hanoverians had quitted, leaving in it only a part of a magazine, which had been set on fire. By this time the French were in such want of forage, that M. d'Etrées himself, the Princes of the blood, and all the officers without exception, were obliged to send back part of their horses. However, on the tenth of June their whole army, consisting of seventy battalions and forty squadrons, with fifty-two pieces of cannon, besides a body of cavalry left at Ruremonde for the conveniency of forage, was put in motion. In spite of almost impassable forests, famine, and every other obstacle that could be thrown in their way by a vigilant and experienced General, they at length

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length surmounted all difficulties, and advanced into a country abounding with plenty, and unused to the ravages of war. It was imagined that the passage of the Weser, which defends Hanover from foreign attacks, would have been vigorously opposed by the army of the Allies; but whether, in the present situation of affairs, it was thought adviseable to act only upon the defensive, and not to begin the attack in a country that was not concerned as a principal in the war, or the Duke of Cumberland found himself too weak to make head against the enemy, is a question we shall not pretend to determine. However that may have been, the whole French army passed the Weser on the tenth and eleventh of July, without the loss of a man. The manner of effecting this passage is thus related:—Mareschal d'Etrées, being informed that his magazines of provisions were well furnished, his ovens established, and the artillery and pontoons arrived at the destined places, ordered Lieutenant-General Broglio, with ten battalions, twelve squadrons, and ten pieces of cannon, to march to Engheren; Lieutenant-General M. de Chevert, with sixteen battalions, three brigades of carabineers, the royal hunters, and six hundred hussars, to march to Hervorden, and Lieutenant-General Marquis d'Armentieres, with twelve battalions, and ten squadrons, to march to Ulrickhausen. All these troops being arrived in their camp on the fourth of July, halted the fifth. On the sixth, twenty-two battalions, and thirty-two squadrons, under the command of the Duke of Orleans, who was now arrived at the army, marched to Ulrickhausen, from whence M. d'Armentieres had set out early in the morning, with the troops under his command, and by hasty marches got on the seventh, by eleven at night, to Blankenhoven, where he found the boats which had gone from Ahrensberg. The bridges were built, the cannon planted, and the entrenchments at the head of

of the bridges completed in the night between the seventh and eighth. The Mareschal having sent away part of his baggage from Bielefeldt on the sixth, went in person on the seventh at eleven o'clock to Horn, and on the eighth to Braket. On advice that M. d'Armentieres had thrown his bridges across without opposition, and was at work on his entrenchments, he went on the ninth to Blankenoven, to see the bridges and entrenchments; and afterwards advanced to examine the first position he intended for this army, and came down to the right side of the Weser to the abbey of Corvey, where he forded the river, with the Princes of the blood, and their attendants. On the tenth in the morning he got on horseback by four o'clock, to see the Duke of Orleans's division file off, which arrived at Corvey at ten o'clock; as also that of M. d'Armentieres, which arrived at eleven, and that of M. Souvré, which arrived at noon. The Mareschal having examined the course of the river, caused the bridges of pontoons to be laid within gun-shot of the Abbey, where the Viscount de Turenne passed that river in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-three, and where the divisions under Broglio and Chevert now passed it on the twelfth and thirteenth. These two Generals being informed of what was to be done upon the Upper Weser, attacked Minden, and carried it whilst a detachment of the French entered the country of East Friesland, under the command of the Marquis d'Auvel: and, after taking possession of Lier, marched on the right of the Ems to Embden, the only sea-port the King of Prussia had, which at first seemed determined to make a defence; but the inhabitants were not agreed upon the methods to be taken for that purpose. They, therefore, met to deliberate, but in the mean time, their gates being shut, M. d'Auvel caused some cannon to be brought to beat them down; and the garrison, composed of four hundred Prussians, not

being

being strong enough to defend the town, the soldiers mutinied against their officers, whereupon a capitulation was agreed on, and the gates were opened to the French commander, who made his troops enter with a great deal of order, assured the magistrates that care should be taken to make them observe a good discipline, and published two ordinances, one for the security of the religion and commerce of the city, and the other for prohibiting the exportation of corn and forage out of that principality. The inhabitants were, however, obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the French King.

§ XLIV. On Sunday, the twenty-fourth of July, the French, after having laid part of the electorate of Hanover under contribution, marched in three columns, with their artillery, towards the village of Latford, when Major-General Fustenburgh, who commanded the out-posts in the village, sent an officer to inform the Duke of Cumberland of their approach. His Royal Highness immediately re-enforced those posts with a body of troops, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sporcken; but finding it impossible to support the village as it was commanded by the heights opposite to it, which were possessed by the enemy, and being sensible that it would be always in his power to retake it, from its situation in a bottom between two hills, he withdrew his post from Latford. The French then made two attacks, one at the point of the wood, and the other higher up in the same wood, opposite to the grenadiers commanded by Major-General Hardenberg, but they failed in both; and though the fire of their artillery was very hot, they were obliged to retire. The French army encamping on the heights opposite to the Duke of Cumberland's posts, the intelligence received, that M. d'Etrées had assembled all his troops, and was furnished with a very considerable train of artillery, left his Royal Highness no room to doubt of his intending to attack him. He, therefore,

therefore, resolved to change his camp for a more advantageous situation, by drawing up his army on the eminence between the Weser and the woods, leaving the Hamelen river on his right, the village of Hastenbeck in his front, and his left close to the wood, at the point of which his Royal Highness had a battery of twelve pounders and howitzers. There was a hollow way from the left of the village to the battery, and a morass on the other side of Hastenbeck to his right. Major-General Schulenberg, with the hunters, and two battalions of grenadiers, was posted in the corner of the wood upon the left of the battery; his Royal Highness ordered the village of Hastenbeck to be cleared to his front, to prevent its being in the power of the enemy to keep possession of it, and the ways by which the Allies had a communication with that village during their encampment to be rendered impassable. In the evening he withdrew all his out-posts, and in this position the army lay upon their arms all night. On the twenty-fifth, in the morning, the French army marched forwards in columns, and began to cannonade the Allies very severely, marching and countermarching continually, and seeming to intend three attacks, on the right, the left, and the centre. In the evening their artillery appeared much superior to that of the Allies. The army was again ordered to lie all night on their arms; his Royal Highness caused a battery at the end of the wood to be repaired; Count Schulenberg to be reinforced with a battalion of grenadiers, and two field pieces of cannon; and that battery to be also supported by four more battalions of grenadiers under the command of Major General Hardenberg. He likewise caused a battery to be erected of twelve six-pounders, behind the village of Hastenbeck, and took all the precautions he could think of to give the enemy a warm reception. As soon as it was day-light, he mounted on horseback to reconnoitre the position of the

the enemy, whom he found in the same situation as the day before. At a little after five a very smart cannonading began against the battery behind the village, which was supported by the Hessian infantry and cavalry, who stood a most severe fire with surprising steadiness and resolution. Between seven and eight the firing of small arms began on the left of the Allies, when his Royal Highness ordered Major-General Behr, with three battalions of Brunswick, to sustain the grenadiers in the wood, if their assistance should be wanted. The cannonading continued above six hours, during which the troops, that were exposed to it, never once abated of their firmness. The fire of the small arms on the left increasing, and the French seeming to gain ground, his Royal Highness detached the Colonels Darkenhausen and Bredenbach, with three Hanoverian battalions and six squadrons, round the wood by Afferde, who, towards the close of the day, drove several squadrons of the enemy back to their army, without giving them any opportunity to charge. At length the grenadiers in the wood, apprehensive of being surrounded, from the great numbers of the enemy that appeared there, and were marching round on that side, though they repulsed every thing that appeared in their front, thought it adviseable to retire nearer the left of the army, a motion which gave the enemy an opportunity of possessing themselves of that battery without opposition. Here the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick distinguished himself at the head of a battalion of Wolfenbuttel guards, and another of Hanoverians, who attacked and repulsed, with their bayonets, a superior force of the enemy, and retook the battery. But the French being in possession of an eminence which commanded and flanked both the lines of the infantry and the battery of the Allies, and where they were able to support their attack under the cover of a hill, his Royal Highness, considering the superior numbers of the enemy, near double to his,

his, and the impossibility of dislodging them from their post, without exposing his own troops too much, ordered a retreat; in consequence of which his army retired, first to Hamelen, where he left a garrison, then to Nienburgh, and afterwards to Hoya; in the neighbourhood of which town, after sending away all the magazines, sick, and wounded, he encamped, in order to cover Bremen and Verden, and to preserve a communication with Stade, to which place the archives, and most valuable effects of Hanover had been removed. In this engagement, Colonel Bredenback attacked four brigades very strongly posted, with a battery of fourteen pieces of cannon, repulsed, and drove them down a precipice, and took all their artillery and ammunition; but preferring the care of his wounded to the glory of carrying away the cannon, he brought off only six, nailing up and destroying the rest. The loss of the Allies in all the skirmishes, which lasted three days, was three hundred and twenty-seven men killed, nine hundred and seven wounded, and two hundred and twenty missing, or taken prisoners; whilst that of the French, according to their own accounts, amounted to fifteen hundred men.

§ XLV. The French, being left masters of the field, soon reduced Hamelen, which was far from being well fortified, obliged the garrison to capitulate, and took out of the town sixty brass cannon, several mortars, forty ovens, part of the equipage of the Duke's army, and large quantities of provisions and ammunition, which they found in it, together with a great many sick and wounded, who not being included in the capitulation, were made prisoners of war. Whether the court of France had any reason to find fault with the conduct of the Mareschal d'Etrées, or whether its monarch was blindly guided by the counsels of his favourite, the Marquise de Pompadour, who, desirous to testify her gratitude to the man who had been one of the

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chief instruments of her high promotion, was ... of an opportunity to retrieve his shattered fortunes, and, at the same time, to add to her own already immense treasures, we shall not pretend to determine; though the event seems plainly to speak the last. Even at the time, no comparison was made between the military skill of the Mareschal d'Etrées, and that of the Duke de Richelieu; but, however that may have been, this last, who, if he had not shone in the character of a soldier, excelled all, or least most of his contemporaries in the more refined arts of a courtier, was, just before the battle we have been speaking of, appointed to supersede the former in the command of the French army in Lower Saxony, were he arrived on the sixth of August, with the title of Mareschal of France; and M. d'Etrées immediately resigned the command.

§ XLVI. Immediately after the battle of Hastenbeck, the French sent a detachment of four thousand men to lay under contribution the countries of Hanover and Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, as well as the duchies of Bremen and Verden; and two days after the arrival of this new commander, the Duke de Chevreuse was detached with two thousand men to take possession of Hanover itself, with the title of Governor of that city. He accordingly marched thither; and upon his arrival the Hanoverian garrison was disarmed, and left at liberty to retire where they pleased. About the same time M. de Contades, with a detachment from the French army, was sent to make himself master of the territories of Hesse-Cassel, where he found no opposition. He was met at Warberg by that prince's master of the horse, who declared, that they were ready to furnish the French army with all the succours the country could afford: and accordingly the magistrates of Cassel presented him with the keys as soon as he entered their city. Gottingen was ordered by M. d'Armentieres to prepare for him within a limited time, upon pain

of

of military execution, four thousand pounds of white bread, two thousand bushels of oats, a greater quantity than could be found in the whole country, an hundred loads of hay, and other provisions.

§ XLVII. The Duke of Cumberland remained encamped in the neighbourhood of Hoya till the twenty-fourth of August, when, upon advice that the enemy had laid two bridges over the Aller in the night, and had passed that river with a large body of troops, he ordered his army to march, to secure the important post and passage of Rothenbourg, lest they should attempt to march round on his left. He encamped that night at Hausen, having detached Lieutenant General Oberg, with eight battalions and six squadrons, to Ottersberg, to which place he marched next day, and encamped behind the Wummer, in a very strong situation, between Ottersberg and Rothenbourg. The French took possession of Verden on the twenty-sixth of August, and one of their detachments went on the twenty-ninth to Bremen, where the gates were immediately opened to them. The Duke of Cumberland, now closely pressed on all sides, and in danger of having his communication with Stadt cut off, which the enemy was endeavouring to effect, by seizing upon all the posts round him, found it necessary to decamp again; to abandon Rothenbourg, of which the French immediately took possession; to retreat to Selsingen, where his head-quarters were, on the first of September; and from thence, on the third of the same month, to retire under the cannon of Stade. Here it was imagined that his army would have been able to maintain their ground between the Aller and the Elbe, till the severity of the season should put an end to the campaign. Accordingly, his Royal Highness, upon his taking this position, sent a detachment of his forces to Buck Schantz, with some artillery, and orders to defend that place to the utmost; but as it could not possibly have held out

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many days, and as the French, who now hemmed him in on all sides, by making themselves masters of a little fort at the mouth of the river Zwinga, would have cut off his communication with the Elbe, so that four English men of war, then in that river, could have been of no service to him, he was forced to accept of a mediation offered by the King of Denmark, by his minister the Count de Lynar, and to sign the famous convention of Closter-Seven*, by which thirty-eight thousand

* This remarkable capitulation, which we shall give here at full length, on account of the disputes that arose shortly after, concerning what the French called an infraction of it, was to the following effect:

" His Majesty the King of Denmark, touched with the distresses of the countries of Bremen and Verden, to which he has always granted his special protection; and being desirous, by preventing those countries from being any longer the theatre of war, to spare also the effusion of blood in the armies which are ready to dispute the possession thereof; hath employed his mediation by the ministry of the Count de Lynar. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, General of the army of the Allies, on the one part, and his Excellency the Mareschal Duke de Richelieu, General of the King of France's forces in Germany, on the other, have, in consideration of the intervention of his Danish Majesty, respectively engaged their word of honour to the Count de Lynar, to abide by the convention hereafter stipulated; and he, the Count de Lynar, correspondently to the magnanimity of the King his master's intention, obliges himself to procure the guarantee mentioned in the present convention; so that it shall be sent to him, with his full powers, which there was no time to make out, in the circumstances which hurried his departure.

Article I. Hostilities shall cease on both sides within twenty-four hours, or sooner, if possible. Orders for this purpose shall be immediately sent to the detached corps.

II. The auxiliary troops of the army of the Duke of Cumberland, namely, those of Hesse, Brunswick, Saxe-Gotha, and even those of the Count de la Lippe Buckbourge, shall be sent home; and as it is necessary to settle particularly their march to the respective countries, a general officer of each nation shall be sent from the army of the allies, with whom shall be settled the route of those troops, the divisions they shall march in, their subsistence on their march, and their passports to be granted them by his Excellency the Duke de Richelieu to go to their own countries, where they shall be placed and distributed as shall be agreed upon between the Court of France and their respective Sovereigns.

III. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland obliges himself to pass the Elbe, with such part of his army as he shall not be able to place in the city of Stade: That the part of his forces which shall enter into garrison in the said city, and which it is supposed may amount

sand Hanoverians laid down their arms, and were dispersed into different quarters of cantonment.

amount to between four and six thousand men, shall remain there under the guarantee of his Majesty the King of Denmark, without committing any act of hostility; nor, on the other hand, shall they be exposed to any from the French troops. In consequence thereof, commissaries, named on each side, shall agree upon the limits to be fixed round that place, for the conveniency of the garrison; which limits shall not extend beyond half a league, or a league, from the place, according to the nature of the ground or circumstances, which shall be fairly settled by the Commissaries. The rest of the Hanoverian army shall go and take quarters in the country beyond the Elbe; and, to facilitate the march of those troops, his Excellency the Duke de Richelieu shall concert with a general officer, sent from the Hanoverian army, the route they shall take: obliging himself to give the necessary passports and security for the free passage of them, and their baggage, to the places of their destination; his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland reserving to himself the liberty of negociating between the two courts for an extension of those quarters. As to the French troops, they shall remain in the rest of the duchies of Bremen and Verden, till the definitive reconciliation of the two Sovereigns.

IV. As the aforesaid articles are to be executed as soon as possible, the Hanoverian army, and the corps which are detached from it, particularly that which is at Buck-Schantz, and the neighbourhood, shall retire under Stade in the space of eight-and-forty hours. The French army shall not pass the River Oste, in the duchy of Bremen, till the limits be regulated. It shall, besides, keep all the posts and countries of which it is in possession; and, not to retard the regulation of the limits between the armies; commissaries shall be nominated and sent on the tenth instant to Bremen-worden, by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, and his Excellency the Mareschal Duke de Richelieu, to regulate, as well the limits to be assigned to the French army, as those that are to be observed by the garrison at Stade, according to Art. III.

V. All the aforesaid articles shall be faithfully executed, according to their form and tenor, and under the faith of his Majesty the King of Denmark's guarantee, which the Count de Lynar, his minister, engages to procure.

Done at the camp at Closter-Seven, Sept. 8, 1757.

(Signed) WILLIAM.

SEPARATE ARTICLES.

UPON the representation made by the Count de Lynar, with a view to explain some dispositions made by the present convention, the following articles have been added:

I. It is the intention of his Excellency the Mareschal Duke de Richelieu, that the allied troops of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland shall be sent back to their respective countries, according to the form mentioned in the second article; and that as to their separation and distribution in the country, it shall be regulated between the Courts, those troops not being considered as prisoners of war.

II. It having been represented that the country of Lunenberg cannot accommodate more than fifteen battalions and six squadrons, and that

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that the city of Stade cannot absolutely contain the garrison of six thousand men alloted to it, his Excellency the Mareschal Duke do Richelieu, being pressed by M. de Lynar, who supported this representation by the guarantee of his Danish Majesty, gives his consent; and his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland engages to cause fifteen battalions and six squadrons to pass the Elbe, and the whole body of hunters, and the remaining ten battalions and twenty-eight squadrons shall be placed in the town of Stade, and the places nearest to it that are within the line, which shall be marked by posts from the mouth of the Liche in the Elbe, to the mouth of the Elmerbeck in the river Oste; provided always, that the said ten battalions and twenty-eight squadrons shall be quartered there as they are at the time of signing this convention, and shall not be recruited under any pretext, or augmented in any case; and this clause is particularly guaranteed by the Count de Lynar in the name of his Danish Majesty.

III. Upon the representation of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, that the army and the detached corps cannot both retire under Stade in eight-and-forty hours, agreeable to the convention, his Excellency the Mareschal Duke de Richelieu hath signified, that he will grant them proper time, provided the corps encamped at Buck-Schantz, as well as the army encamped at Bremer-worden, begin their march to retire in four-and-twenty hours after signing the convention. The time necessary for other arrangements, and the execution of the articles concerning the respective limits shall be settled between Lieutenant-General Sporcken, and the Marquis de Villemar, first Lieutenant-General of the King's army.

Done, &c.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

§ I. *The French enter the Prussian dominions, where they commit great disorders.* § II. *Reflections on the misconduct of the allied army.* § III. *Russian fleet blocks up the Prussian ports in the Baltick.* § IV. *Russians take Memel.* § V. *Declaration of the King of Prussia on that occasion.* § VI. *Army of the Empire raised with difficulty.* § VII. *The Austrians take Gabel.* § VIII. *And destroy Zittau.* § IX. *The Prince of Prussia leaves the army.* § X. *Communication between England and Ostend broke off. Gueldres capitulates.* § XI. *Skirmishes between the Prussians and Austrians. And between the Prussians and Russians.* § XII. *Mareschal Lehwald attacks the Russians in their entrenchments near Norkitten.* § XIII. *Hasty retreat of the Russians out of Prussia.* § XIV. *French and Imperialists take Gotha.* § XV. *Action between the Prussians and Austrians near Goerlitz.* § XVI. *The French oblige Prince Ferdinand to retire.* § XVII. *Berlin laid under contribution by the Austrians: and Leipzig subjected to military execution by the Prussians.* § XVIII. *Battle of Rosbach.* § XIX. *The Austrians take Schweidnitz; and defeat the Prince of Bevern near Breslaw.* § XX. *Mareschal Keith lays Bohemia under contribution. King of Prussia defeats the Austrians at Lissa; retakes Breslaw and Schweidnitz, and becomes master of all Silesia.* § XXI. *Hostilities of the Swedes in Pomerania.* § XXII. *Mareschal Lehwald forces the Swedes to retire.* § XXIII. *Memorial presented to the Dutch by Col. Yorke, relative to Ostend and Nieuport.* § XXIV. *King of Prussia's letter to the King of Great-Britain. His Britannick Majesty's declaration.* § XXV. *Disputes concerning the convention of Closter-Seven.* § XXVI. *Progress of the Hanoverian army.* § XXVII. *Death of*

of the Queen of Poland. Transactions at sea. § XXVIII. *Fate of Captain Death.* § XXIX. *Session opened.* § XXX. *Supplies granted.* § XXXI. *Funds for raising the supplies.* § XXXII. *Message from the King to the House of Commons.* § XXXIII. *Second treaty with the King of Prussia.* § XXXIV. *Bill for fortifying Milford-Haven. Regulations with respect to corn.* § XXXV. *Bills for the encouragement of seamen, and for explaining the militia act.* § XXXVI. *Act for repairing London-Bridge.* § XXXVII. *Act for ascertaining the qualification of voting.* § XXXVIII. *Bill for more effectually manning the navy.* § XXXIX. *Amendments in the Habeas-Corpus act.* § XL. *Scheme in favour of the Foundling Hospital.* § XLI. *Proceedings relative to the African Company.* § XLII. *Session closed.* § XLIII. *Vigorous preparations for war. Death of the Princess Caroline.* § XLIV. *Sea engagement off Cape Francois. Remarkable success of Captain Forest.* § XLV. *French evacuate Embden. Success of Adm. Osborne. French fleet driven ashore in Basque road.* § XLVI. *Adm. Broderick's ship burnt at sea.* § XLVII. *Descent at Cancalle-bay.* § XLVIII. *Expedition against Cherbourg.* § XLIX. *Descent at St. Maloes.* § L. *English defeated at St. Cas.* § LI. *Captures from the enemy.* § LII. *Clamours of the Dutch merchants, on account of the capture of their ships.* § LIII. *Their famous petition to the States General.*

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§ I. THE Hanoverians being now quite subdued, and the whole force of the French let loose against the King of Prussia by this treaty, Mareschal Richelieu immediately ordered Lieutenant-General Berchini to march with all possible expedition, with the troops under his command, to join the Prince de Soubise: the gens-d'armes, and other troops that were in the Landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel, received the same order; and sixty battalions of

of foot, and the greatest part of the horse belonging to the French army, were directed to attack the Prussian territories. Mareschal Richelieu himself arrived at Brunswick on the fifteenth of September; and having, in a few days after, assembled an hundred and ten battalions, and an hundred and fifty squadrons, with an hundred pieces of cannon, near Wolfenbuttel, he entered the King of Prussia's dominions with his army on the 27th, 28th, and 29th of the same month, in three columns, which penetrated into Halberstadt and Brandenburgh, plundering the towns, exacting contributions, and committing many enormities, at which their General is said to have connived. In the mean time the Duke of Cumberland returned to England, where he arrived on the 11th of October, and shortly after resigned all his military commands.

§ II. Had the allied army, after the battle of Hastenbeck, marched directly to the Leine, as it might easily have done, and then taken post on the other side of Wolfenbuttel, Halberstadt, and Magdebourg, it might have waited securely under the cannon of the latter place for the junction of the Prussian forces; instead of which, they injudiciously turned off to the Lower Weser, retiring successively from Hamelen to Nienburgh, Verden, Rothenburgh, Buxtehude, and lastly to Stade, where, for want of subsistence and elbow-room, the troops were all made prisoners of war at large. They made a march of an hundred and fifty miles to be cooped up in a nook, instead of taking the other route, which was only about an hundred miles, and would have led them to a place of safety. By this unaccountable conduct, the King of Prussia was not only deprived of the assistance of near forty thousand good troops, which, in the close of the campaign, might have put him upon an equality with the French and the army of the Empire; but also exposed to, and actually invaded by, his numerous enemies on all sides,

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insomuch that his situation became now more dangerous than ever; and the fate which seemed to have threatened the Empress a few months before, through his means, was, to all appearance, turned against himself. His ruin was predicted, nor could human prudence foresee how he might be extricated from his complicated distress; for, besides the invasion of his territories by the French under the Duke de Richelieu, the Russians, who had made for a long time a dilatory march, and seemed uncertain of their own resolutions, all at once quickened their motions, and entered ducal Prussia under Mareschal Apraxin and General Fermor, marking their progress by every inhumanity that unbridled cruelty, lust, and rapine can be imagined capable of committing. A large body of Austrians entered Silesia, and penetrated as far as Breslau: then, turning back, they laid siege to the important fortress of Schweidnitz, the key of that country. A second body entered Lusatia, another quarter of the Prussian territories, and made themselves masters of Zittau. Twenty-two thousand Swedes penetrated into Prussian Pomerania, took the towns of Anclam and Demmin, and laid the whole country under contribution. The army of the Empire, reinforced by that of Prince Soubise, after many delays, was at last in full march to enter Saxony; and this motion left the Austrians at liberty to turn the greatest part of their forces to the reduction of Silesia. An Austrian General, penetrating through Lusatia, passed by the Prussian armies, and suddenly presenting himself before the gates of Berlin, laid the whole country under contribution; and though he retired on the approach of a body of Prussians, yet he still found means to interrupt the communication of these last with Silesia. The Prussians, it is true, exerted themselves bravely on all sides, and their enemies fled before them; but whilst one body was pursuing, another gained upon them in some other part. The winter approached, their

their strength decayed, and their adversaries multiplied daily. Their King harassed, and almost spent with incessant fatigue both of body and of mind, was in a manner excluded from the Empire. The greatest part of his dominions were either taken from him, or laid under contribution, and possessed by his enemies; who collected the publick revenues, fattened on the contributions, and with the riches which they drew from the electorate of Hanover, and other conquests, defrayed the expences of the war; and by the convention of Closter-Seven he was deprived of his allies, and left without any assistance whatever, excepting what the British Parliament might think fit to supply. How different is this picture from that which the King of Prussia exhibited when he took arms to enter Saxony! But, in order to form a clear idea of these events, of the situation of his Prussian Majesty, and of the steps he took to defeat the designs of his antagonists, and extricate himself from his great and numerous distresses, it will be proper now to take a view of the several transactions of his enemies, as well during his stay in Bohemia, as from the time of his leaving it, down to that which we are now speaking of.

§ III. Whilst the King of Prussia was in Bohemia, the Empress of Russia ordered notice to be given to all masters of ships, That if any of them were found assisting the Prussians, by the transportation of troops, artillery, and ammunition, they should be condemned as legal prizes: and her fleet, consisting of fifteen men of war and frigates, with two bomb-ketches, was sent to block up the Prussian ports in the Baltick, where it took several ships of that nation, which were employed in carrying provisions and merchandize from one port to another. One of these ships of war appearing before Memel, a town of Poland, but subject to Prussia, the commandant sent an officer to the captain, to know whether he came as a friend or an enemy; to which interroga-

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tion the Russian captain replied, That, notwithstanding the dispositions of the Empress of both the Russias were sufficiently known, yet he would further explain them, by declaring that his orders, and those of the other Russian commanders, were, in conformity to the laws of war, to seize on all the Prussian vessels they met with on their cruise. Upon which the commandant of Memel immediately gave orders for pointing the cannon to fire upon all Russian ships that should approach that place.

§ IV. The land-forces of the Russians had now lingered on their march upwards of six months; and it was pretty generally doubted, by those who were supposed to have the best intelligence, whether they ever were really designed to pass into the Prussian territories, not only on account of their long stay on the borders of Lithuania, but also because several of their Cossacks had been severely punished for plundering the waggons of some Prussian peasants upon the frontiers of Courland, and the damage of the peasants compensated with money, though General Apraxin's army was at the same time greatly distressed by the want of provisions; when, on a sudden, they quickened their motions, and showed they were, in earnest, determined to accomplish the ruin of Prussia. Their first act of hostility was the attack of Memel, which surrendered: and, by the articles of capitulation, it was agreed, that the garrison should march out with all the honours of war, after having engaged not to serve against the Empress, or any of her allies, for the space of one year.

§ V. His Prussian Majesty, justly foreseeing the great enormities that were to be expected from these savage enemies, who were unaccustomed to make war, except upon nations as barbarous as themselves, who looked upon war only as an opportunity for plunder, and every country through which they happened to march as their's by right of conquest, published

published the following declaration:—"It is sufficiently known, that the King of Prussia, after the example of his glorious predecessors, has, ever since his accession to the crown, laid it down as a maxim to seek the friendship of the Imperial Court of Russia, and cultivate it by every method. His Prussian Majesty hath had the satisfaction to live, for several successive years, in the strictest harmony with the reigning Empress; and this happy union would be still subsisting, if evil-minded potentates had not broke it by their secret machinations, and carried things to such a height, that the ministers on both sides have been recalled, and the correspondence broken off. However melancholy these circumstances might be for the King, his Majesty was nevertheless most attentive to prevent any thing that might increase the alienation of the Russian Court. He hath been particularly careful, during the disturbances of the war that now unhappily rages, to avoid whatever might involve him in a difference with that Court, notwithstanding the great grievances he hath to alledge against it; and that it was publickly known the Court of Vienna had at last drawn that of Russia into its destructive views, and made it serve as an instrument for favouring the schemes of Austria. His Majesty hath given the whole world incontestible proofs, that he was under an indispensible necessity of having recourse to the measures he hath taken against the Courts of Vienna and Saxony, who forced him by their conduct to take up arms for his defence. Yet, even since things have been brought to this extremity, the King hath offered to lay down his arms, if proper securities should be granted to him. His Majesty hath not neglected to expose the artifices by which the Imperial Court of Russia hath been drawn into measures so opposite to the Empress's sentiments, and which would excite the utmost indignation of that great Princess, if the truth could be placed before her

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without disguise. The King did more: he suggested to her Imperial Majesty sufficient means either to excuse her not taking any part in the present war, or to avoid upon the justest grounds, the execution of those engagements which the Court of Vienna claimed by a manifest abuse of obligations, which they employed to palliate their unlawful views. It wholly depended upon the Empress of Russia to extinguish the flames of the war, without unsheathing the sword, by pursuing the measures suggested by the King. This conduct would have immortalized her reign throughout all Europe. It would have gained her more lasting glory than can be acquired by the greatest triumphs. The King finds with regret, that all his precautions and care to maintain peace with the Russian empire are fruitless, and that the intrigues of his enemies have prevailed. His Majesty sees all the considerations of friendship and good neighbourhood set aside by the Imperial Court of Russia, as well as the observance of its engagements with his Majesty. He sees that Court marching its troops through the territories of a foreign Power, and, contrary to the tenor of treaties, in order to attack the King in his dominions: and thus taking part in a war, in which his enemies have involved the Russian empire. In such circumstances, the King hath no other part to take, but to employ the power which God hath entrusted to him in defending himself, protecting his subjects, and repelling every unjust attack. His Majesty will never lose sight of the rules which are observed, even in the midst of war, among civilized nations. But if, contrary to all hope and expectation, these rules should be violated by the troops of Russia, if they commit in the King's territories disorders and excesses disallowed by the law of arms, his Majesty must not be blamed if he makes reprisals in Saxony; and if, instead of that good order, and rigorous discipline which have hitherto been observed by his army

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avoiding all sorts of violence, he finds himself forced, contrary to his inclination, to suffer the provinces and subjects of Saxony to be treated in the same manner as his own territories shall be treated. As to the rest, the King will soon publish to the whole world the futility of the reasons alledged by the Imperial Court of Russia to justify its aggression; and as his Majesty is forced upon making his defence, he has room to hope, with confidence, that the Lord of Hosts will bless his righteous arms: that he will disappoint the unjust enterprises of his enemies, and grant him his powerful assistance, to enable him to make head against them."

§ VI. When the King of Prussia was put under the ban of the Empire, the several Princes who compose that body were required, by the decree of the Aulick Council, as we observed before, to furnish their respective contingents against him. Those who feared him looked upon this as a fair opportunity of reducing him; and those who stood in awe of the House of Austria were, through necessity, compelled to support that Power, which they dreaded. Besides, they were accustomed to the influence of a family, in which the Empire had, for a long time, been in a manner hereditary; and were also intimidated by the appearance of a confederacy, the most formidable, perhaps, that the world had ever seen. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the contingents, both of men and money, were collected slowly; the troops were badly composed; and many of those, not only of the Protestant Princes, but also of the Catholicks, showed the utmost reluctance to act against his Prussian Majesty, which, indeed, none of them would have been able to do, had it not been for the assistance of the French, under the Prince de Soubise. The Elector-Palatine lost above a thousand men by desertion. Four thousand of the troops belonging to the Duke of Wirtemberg being delivered to the French Commissary on the twenty-fourth of June,

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were immediately reviewed; but the review was scarcely finished, when they began to cry aloud, that they were sold. Next morning thirty of them deserted at once, and were soon followed by parties of twenty and thirty each, who forced their way through the detachments that guarded the gates of Stutgard, and in the evening the mutiny became general. They fired upon the officers in their barracks, and let their General know, that if he did not immediately withdraw, they would put him to death. Mean while, some of the officers having pursued the deserters, brought back a part of them prisoners, when the rest of the soldiers declared, that if they were not immediately released, they would set fire to the stadthouse and barracks; upon which the prisoners were set at liberty late in the evening. Next morning the soldiers assembled, and having seized some of the officers, three or four hundred of them marched out of the town at a time, with the musick of the regiments playing before them; and in this manner near three thousand of them filed off, and the remainder were afterwards discharged.

§ VII. The King of Prussia, upon his leaving Bohemia, after the battle of Kolin, retired towards Saxony, as we observed before; and having sent his heavy artillery and mortars up the Elbe to Dresden; fixed his camp on the banks of that river, at Leitmeritz, where his main army was strongly entrenched, whilst Mareschal Keith, with the troops under his command, encamped on the opposite shore; a free communication being kept open by means of a bridge. At the same time, detachments were ordered to secure the passes into Saxony. As this position of the King of Prussia prevented the Austrians from being able to penetrate into Saxony by the way of the Elbe, they moved, by slow marches, into the circle of Buntzlau, and, at last, with a detachment commanded by the Duke d'Aremberg and M. Macguire, on the eighteenth of June fell suddenly

denly upon, and took, the important post at Gabel, situated between Boemish-Leypa, and Zittau, after an obstinate defence made by the Prussian garrison, under Major-General Putkammer, consisting of four battalions, who were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. The Austrians having by this motion gained a march towards Lusatia, upon a corps which had been detached under the command of the Prince of Prussia to watch them, his Prussian Majesty thought proper to leave Leitmeritz on the twentieth in the morning, and lay that night at Lickowitz, a village opposite to Leitmeritz, of which a battalion of his troops still kept possession, while the rest of his army remained encamped in the plain before that place. Next morning, at break of day, Prince Henry decamped, and made so good a disposition for his retreat, that he did not lose a single man, though he marched in sight of the whole body of Austrian irregulars. He passed the bridge at Leitmeritz, after withdrawing the battalion that was in the town, and having burnt the bridge, the whole army united, and made a small movement towards the passes of the mountains; the King then lying at Sulowitz, near the field where the battle of Lowoschutz was fought on the first of October of the preceding year. The heavy baggage was sent on in the afternoon, with a proper escorte; and in the morning of the twenty-second the army marched in two columns, and encamped on the high grounds at Lusechitz, a little beyond Lenai, where it halted the twenty-third. No attack was made upon the rear-guard, though great numbers of Austrian hussars, and other irregulars, had appeared the evening before within cannon-shot, of the Prussian camp. On the twenty-fourth the army marched to Nellendorf; on the twenty-fifth it encamped near Cotta, on the twenty-sixth near Pirna, where it halted the next day; and on the twenty-eighth it crossed the river near that place, and entered Lusatia, where, by the end of the month, it encamped near Bautzen.

§ VIII. The King's army made this retreat with all the success that could be wished; but the corps under the Prince of Prussia had not the same good fortune: for the Austrians, immediately after their taking Gabel, sent a strong detachment against Zittau, a trading town in the circle of Upper Saxony, where the Prussians had large magazines, and a garrison of six battalions, and, in his sight, attacked it with uncommon rage. Paying no regard to the inhabitants as being friends or allies, but determined to reduce the place before the King of Prussia could have time to march to its relief, they no sooner arrived before it, than they bombarded and cannonaded it with such fury, that most of the garrison, finding themselves unable to resist, made their escape, and carried off as much as they could of the magazines, leaving only three or four hundred men in the town, under Colonel Diricke, to hold it out as long as possible; which he accordingly did, till the whole place was almost destroyed. The cannonading began on the twenty-third of July, at eleven in the morning, and lasted till five in the evening. In this space of time four thousand balls, many of them red hot, were fired into this unfortunate city with so little intermission, that it was soon set on fire in several places. In the confusion which the conflagration produced, the Austrians entered the town, and the inhabitants imagined that they had then nothing further to fear; and that their friends the Austrians would assist them in extinguishing the flames, and saving the place: but in this particular their expectations were dissappointed. The Pandours and Sclavonians, who rushed in with regular troops, made no distinction between the Prussians and the inhabitants of Zittau; instead of helping to quench the flames, they began to plunder the warehouses which the fire had not reached; so that all the valuable merchandize they contained was either carried off, or reduced to ashes. Upwards of

six hundred houses, and almost all the publick buildings, the cathedral of St. John and St. James, the orphan-house, eight parsonage-houses, eight schools, the town-house, and every thing contained in it, the publick weigh-house, the prison, the archives, and all the other documents of the town-council, the plate, and other things of value, presented to the town, from time to time, by the Emperors, Kings, and other Princes and Noblemen, were entirely destroyed, and more than four hundred citizens were killed in this assault. Of the whole town there was left standing only one hundred and thirty-eight houses, two churches, the council, library, and the salt-work. The Queen of Poland was so affected by this melancholy account, that she is said to have fainted away upon hearing it. As this city belonged to their friend the King of Poland, the Austrians thought proper to publish an excuse for their conduct, ascribing it entirely to the necessity they were under, and the obstinate defence made by the Prussian garrison. But what excuses can atone for such barbarity?

§ IX. The corps under the Prince of Prussia, which had been witnesses to the destruction of this unhappy place, was, by the King's march to Bautzen, fortunately extricated from the danger of being surrounded by the Austrians, who, upon his Majesty's approach, retired from their posts on the right. Soon after this event, the Prince of Prussia, finding his health much impaired by the fatigues of the campaign*, quitted the army, and returned to

* This was the reason that was publickly assigned for his quitting the army: but a much more probable one, which was only whispered, seems to have been, that this Prince, than whom none ever was more remarkable for humanity and the social virtues, disliking the violent proceedings of the King his brother, could not refrain from expostulating with him on that subject; upon which his Majesty, with an air of great disapprobation, told him, "That the air of Berlin would be better for him than that of the camp." The Prince accordingly retired to Berlin, where he died soon after; grief and concern for the welfare of his brother, and for the steps taken by him, having no small share in his death.

 Berlin,

Berlin. In the mean time, Mareschal Keith, who had been left upon the frontier, to guard the passes of the mountains of Bohemia, arrived at Pirna, having been much harassed in his march by the enemy's irregular troops, and lost some waggons of provisions and baggage. After resting a day at Pirna, he pursued his march through Dresden with twenty battalions and forty squadrons, and encamped on the right of the Elbe, before the gate of the new city, from whence he joined the King between Bautzen and Goerlitz. The Prussian army, now re-assembled at this place, amounted to about sixty thousand men, besides twelve battalions and ten squadrons which remained in the famous camp at Pirna, under the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau, to cover Dresden, secure the gorges of the mountains, and check the incursions of the Austrian irregulars, with whom, as they were continually flying about the skirts of the Prussian army, as well in their encampments as on their marches, almost daily skirmishes happened, with various success. Though some of these encounters were very bloody, they cost the Prussians much fewer men than they lost by desertion since the battle of Kolin. The reason seems obvious:—The Prussian army had been recruited, in times of peace, from all parts of Germany: and though this way of recruiting may be very proper in such times, yet it cannot be expected to answer in a state of actual war, especially an unfortunate war: because the fidelity of such soldiers can never be so much depended on as that of natives, who serve their natural sovereign from principle, and not merely for pay, and who must desert their country, their parents, and their friends, at the same time that they desert their prince.

§ X. It will be proper here to take notice of some events which could not easily be mentioned before, without breaking through the order we have proposed to ourselves in the writing of this history.—The

Empress-Queen, more embittered than ever against the King of Prussia and his allies, recalled her ministers, Count Coloredo and Mons. Zohern from London, towards the beginning of July; and about the same time Count Kaunitz, great Chancellor of the Empire, informed Mr. Keith, the British minister at Vienna, that the court of London, by the succours it had given, and still continued to give, the King of Prussia, as well as by other circumstances relating to the present state of affairs, having broken the solemn engagements which united this crown with the House of Austria, her Majesty, the Empress-Queen had thought proper to recal her minister from England, and consequently to break off all correspondence. Mr. Keith, in pursuance of this notice, set out from Vienna on the twenty-ninth of July; as did also Mr. Desrolles, his Britannick Majesty's minister at the court of Brussels, from this last place, about the same time. On the seventh of July, General Pisa, commandant of Ostend, Nieuport, and the maritime ports of Flanders, sent his adjutant to the English vice-consul at Ostend, at six o'clock in the morning, to tell him, that by orders from his court all communication with England was broke off; and desired the vice-consul to intimate to the pacquet-boats and British shipping at Ostend, Bruges, and Nieuport, to depart in twenty-four hours, and not to return into any of the ports of the Empress-Queen till further disposition should be made. The reasons alledged by the Court of Vienna for debarring the subjects of his Britannick Majesty from the use of these ports, obtained for the House of Austria by the arms and treasures of Great-Britain, were, "That her Imperial Majesty, the Empress-Queen, could not, with indifference, see England, instead of giving the succours due to her by the most solemn treaties, enter into an alliance with her enemy the King of Prussia, and actually afford him all manner of assistance, assembling armies to oppose those which the

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the most Christian King, her ally, had sent to her aid, and suffering privateers to exercise open violence in her roads, under the cannon of her ports and coasts, without giving the least satisfaction or answer to the complaints made on that account; and the King of Great-Britain himself, at the very time she was offering him a neutrality for Hanover, publishing, by a message to his parliament, that she had formed, with the Most Christian King, dangerous designs against that electorate: therefore, her Majesty, desirous of providing for the security of her ports, judged it expedient to give the forementioned orders; and at the same time to declare, that she could no longer permit a free communication between her subjects and the English, which had hitherto been founded upon treaties that Great-Britain had without scruple, openly violated." Notwithstanding these orders, the English pacquet-boats, with letters, were allowed to pass as usual to and from Ostend; the Ministers of her Imperial Majesty wisely considering how good a revenue the postage of English letters brings in to the post-office of the Austian Netherlands. Ostend and Nieuport, by order of her Imperial Majesty, received each of them a French garrison; the former on the nineteenth of July, and the latter the next day, under the command of M. de la Motte, upon whose arrival the Austrian troops evacuated those places; though the Empress-Queen still reserved to herself, in both of them, the full and free exercise of all her rights of sovereignty; to which purpose an oath was administered to the French commandant by her Majesty's minister-plenipotentiary for the government of the Low-Countries. At the same time, their Imperial and Most Christian Majesties notified to the magistracy of Hamburgh, that they must not admit any English men of war, or transports, into their port, on pain of having a French garrison imposed on them. The city of Gueldres, which had been blocked

up

up by the French ever since the beginning of summer, was forced by famine to capitulate on the twenty-fourth of August, and the garrison marched out with all the honours of war, in order to be conducted to Berlin: but so many of them deserted, that when they passed by Cologn, the whole garrison consisted only of the commandant, and forty-seven men. By the surrender of this place the whole country lay open to the French and their allies quite up to Magdebourg; and the Empress-Queen immediately received two hundred thousand crowns from the revenues of Cleves and La Marcke alone.

§ XI. To return to the affairs more immediately relating to the King of Prussia. The advanced posts of the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau at Pirna were attacked, on the tenth of August, by a body of hussars, and other irregular troops of the Austrians; but the Prussians soon obliged them to retire, with the loss of several men and two pieces of cannon. On the nineteenth of the same month, early in the morning, a great number of Austrian Pandours surrounded a little town called Gotliebe, in which a Prussian garrison was quartered, with a design to take it by surprize. The Pandours attacked it on all sides, and in the beginning killed twenty-three Prussians, and wounded many; but the Prussians having rallied, repulsed the assailants with great loss. These, however, were but a sort of preludes to much more decisive actions, which happened soon after. Silesia, which had hitherto been undisturbed this year, began now to feel the effects of war. Baron Jahnus, an Austrian Colonel, entering that country with only an handful of men, made himself master of Hirschberg, Waldenberg, Gottesburg, Frankenstein, and Landshut. They were, indeed, but open places; and he was repulsed in an attempt upon Strigau. On the side of Franconia the army of the empire was assembling with all speed, under the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen; the French were marching a second

army

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army from their interior provinces into Alsace, in order to join the Imperialists: the first division of their troops had already entered the empire, and were advanced as far as Hanau. The Swedes were now preparing, with the utmost expedition, to send a numerous army into Pomerania; and the Russians, who, since the taking of Memel, had not done the King of Prussia much damage, besides that of obliging him to keep an army in Prussia to oppose them, and interrupting the trade of Konigsberg by their squadrons, were again advancing with hasty strides towards Prussia, marking their steps with horrid desolation. Field-Mareschal Lehwald, who had been left in Prussia, with an army of thirty thousand men, to guard that kingdom during the absence of his master, was encamped near Velau, when the Russians, to the number of eighty thousand, after taking Memel, advanced against the territories of the Prussian King, whose situation now drew upon him the attention of all Europe. In the night between the seventh and eighth of August, Colonel Malachowsti, one of Mareschal Lehwald's officers, marched to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, when a skirmish happened, which lasted near two hours, between his advanced ranks and a Russian detatchment, three times stronger than the Prussians. The Russians were repulsed, and fled into the woods, after having fifty men killed, and a great number wounded. The Prussians lost but one man and had fourteen wounded.

§ XII. Several other little skirmishes happened between straggling parties of the two armies; and the Russians went on pillaging and laying waste every thing before them, till at length the two armies having approached one another in Brandenburgh-Prussia, Mareschal Lehwald, finding it impossible to spare detachments from so small a number as his was, compared to that of the enemy, to cover the wretched inhabitants from the outrages committed on them by

by the Russian Cossacks, and other barbarians belonging to them, judged it absolutely necessary to attack their main army, and accordingly, notwithstanding his great disadvantage in almost every respect, he resolved to hazard a battle on the thirtieth of August. The Russians, consisting, as we before observed, of eighty thousand regulars, under the command of Mareschal Apraxin, avoiding the open field, were entrenched in a most advantageous camp near Norkitten in Prussia. Their army was composed of four lines, each of which was guarded by an entrenchment, and the whole was defended by two hundred pieces of cannon, batteries being placed upon all the eminences. Mareschal Lehwald's army scarcely amounted to thirty thousand men. The action began at five in the morning, and was carried on with so much vigour, that the Prussians entirely broke the whole first line of the enemy, and forced all their batteries. The Prince of Holstein-Gottorp, brother to the King of Sweden, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, routed the Russian cavalry, and afterwards fell upon a regiment of grenadiers, which was cut to pieces; but when the Prussians came to the second entrenchment, Mareschal Lehwald seeing that he could not attempt to carry it, without exposing his army too much, took the resolution to retire. The Prussians returned to their former camp at Velau, and the Russians remained in their present situation. The loss of the Prussians, little exceeding two thousand, killed and wounded, was immediately replaced out of the disciplined militia. The Russians lost a much greater number. General Lapuchin was wounded and taken prisoner, with a colonel of the Russian artillery; but the former was sent back on his parole. The Prussian army had, at first, made themselves masters of above eighty pieces of cannon; but were afterwards obliged to abandon them, with eleven of their own, for want of carriages. Three Russian

Generals

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Generals were killed; but the Prussians lost no General or officer of distinction, of which rank Count Dohna was the only one that was wounded.

§ XIII. After this engagement, Mareschal Lehwald changed the position of his army, by drawing towards Peterswald; and the Russians, after remaining quite inactive till the thirteenth of September, on a sudden, to the great surprize of every one, retreated out of Prussia with such precipitation, that they left all their sick and wounded behind them, to the amount of fifteen or sixteen thousand men, together with eighty pieces of cannon, and a considerable part of their military stores. Mareschal Apraxin masked his design by advancing all his irregulars towards the Prussian army; so that Mareschal Lehwald was not informed of it till the third day, when he detached Prince George of Holstein with ten thousand horse to pursue them; but with little hopes of coming up with them, as they made forced marches, in order to be sooner in their own country. However, the Prussians took some of them prisoners, and many stragglers were killed by the country people in their flight towards Tilsit, which they abandoned, though they still kept Memel, and shortly after added some new fortifications to that place. They made their retreat in two columns, one of which directed its course towards Memel; while the other took the nearest way through the bailiwick of Absternen, and threw bridges over the river Jura. Both columns burnt every village they passed through without distinction. The Prussians were obliged to desist from the pursuit of these barbarians, because the bridges, thrown over the river Memel, had been destroyed by the violence of the stream. The Russian army suffered greatly for want of bread, as all the countries were ruined through which it passed, so that they could procure no sort of subsistence but herbage and rye-bread. All the roads were strewed with dead bodies

bodies of men and horses. The real cause of this sudden retreat is as great a mystery as the reason of stopping so long, the year before, on the borders of Lithuania; though the occasion of it is said to have been the illness of the Czarina, who was seized with a kind of apoplectick fit, and had made some new regulations in case of a vacancy of the throne, which rendered it expedient that the regular forces should be at hand, to support the measures taken by the government.

§ XIV. The King of Prussia after remaining for some time encamped between Bautzen and Goerlitz, removed his head-quarters to Bernstedel; and on the fifteenth of August his army came in sight of the Austrian camp, and within cannon shot of it: upon which the Austrians struck their tents, and drew up in order of battle before their camp. The King formed his army over against them, and immediately went to reconnoitre the ground between the armies; but, as it was then late, he deferred the more exact examination of that circumstance till the next day. The two armies continued under arms all night. Next morning at break of day, the King found the Austrians encamped with their right at the river Weisle; the rest of their army extended along a rising ground, at the foot of a mountain covered with wood, which protected their left; and before their front at the bottom of the hill on which they were drawn up, was a small brook, passable only in three places, and for no more than four or five men a-breast. Towards the left of their army was an opening, where three or four battalions might have marched in front: but behind it they had placed three lines of infantry, and on a hill which flanked this opening, within musket-shot, were placed four thousand foot, with forty or fifty pieces of cannon: so that, in reality, this was the strongest part of their camp. The King left nothing undone to bring the Austrians to a battle; but finding

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finding them absolutely bent on avoiding it, after lying four days before them, he and his army returned to their camp at Bernstedel. They were followed by some of the enemy's Hussars and Pandours, who, however, had not the satisfaction to take the smallest booty in this retreat. The Austrian army, which thus declined engaging, was, by their own account, an hundred and thirty thousand strong, more than double the number of the King of Prussia, who, the day he returned to Bernstedel, after he had retired about two thousand yards, again drew up his army in line of battle, and remained so upwards of an hour, but not a man stirred from the Austrian camp. The army of the Empire, commanded by the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen, and that of the French under the Prince de Soubise, making together about fifty thousand men, half of which were French, had by this time joined, and advanced as far as Erfurth in Saxony; upon which his Prussian Majesty, finding that all his endeavours could not bring the Austrians to an engagement, set out from Lusatia, accompanied by Mareschal Keith, with sixteen battalions and forty squadrons of his troops, and arrived at Dresden on the twenty-ninth of August, leaving the rest of the army in a strong camp, under the Prince of Bevern. With this detachment, which, by the junction of several bodies of troops amounted to about forty thousand men, he made a quick march, by the way of Leipzig, towards Erfurth, to give battle to the united army of the French and the Empire. But by the time he arrived at Erfurth, which was on the fourteenth of September, the enemy had retreated towards Gotha; and upon his further approach, they retired to Eyesenach, where they entrenched themselves in a very strong camp. His Majesty's head-quarters were at Kirschlaben, near Erfurth. While the two armies were thus situated, Major-General Seydelitz, who occupied the town of Gotha, being informed, on

on the nineteenth, that a large body of the enemy was coming towards him, and that it consisted of two regiments of Austrian hussars, one regiment of French hussars, and a detachment made up of French grenadiers, troops of the army of the Empire, and a great number of Croats and Pandours, retired, and posted himself at some distance. The enemy immediately took possession of the town and castle; but General Seydelitz, having been reinforced, attacked the enemy with such vigour, that he soon obliged them to abandon this new conquest, and to retire with great precipitation; a report having been spread, that the Prussian army was advancing against them, with the King himself in person. The Prussian hussars took a considerable booty on this occasion, and General Seydelitz sent prisoners to the camp, one Lieutenant-Colonel, three Majors, four Lieutenants, and sixty-two soldiers of the enemy, who had also about an hundred and thirty killed. After this action his Prussian Majesty advanced near Eyesenach, with a design to attack the combined army; but they were so strongly entrenched, that he found it impracticable. His provisions falling short he was obliged to retire towards Erfurth, and soon after to Naumburgh, on the river Sala: whereupon the combined army marched, and again took possession of Gotha, Erfurth, and Wieman: which last place, however they soon after quitted.

§ XV. Upon the King of Prussia's leaving Bernstedel, the Austrians took possession of it on the sixth of September, and made prisoners a Prussian battalion which had been left there. The next day fifteen thousand Austrians attacked two battalions of General Winterfield's troops, being part of the Prince of Bevern's army, who were posted on a high ground on the other side of the Neiss, near Hennersdorff, in the neighbourhood of Goerlitz; and, after being repulsed several times, at last made themselves masters of the eminence. The loss in this action, was considerable

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considerable on both sides, but greatest on that of the Prussians, not so much by the number of their slain, which scarcely exceeded that of the Austrians, as by the death of their brave General Winterfield, who, as he was leading up succours to the battalions that were engaged, received a shot from a cannon, of which he died the night following. The Generals Nadasti and Clerici, Count d'Arberg, Colonel Elrickhausen, and several other persons of distinction, were wounded, and the young Count of Groesbeck and the Marquis d'Asque killed, on the side of the Austrians, who took six pieces of the Prussian cannon, six pair of their colours, and made General Kemeke, the Count d'Anhalt, and some other officers, prisoners. After this skirmish, the Prince of Bevern, with the Prussian army under his command, retreated from Goerlitz to Rothenberg, then passed the Queiss at Sygersdorff, from whence he marched to Buntlau, in Silesia, and on the first of October, reached Breslau, without suffering any loss, though the numerous army of the Austrians followed him for some days. Upon his arrival there, he chose a very strong camp on the other side of the Oder, in order to cover the city of Breslau, to the fortifications of which he immediately added several new works. Though neither side had any very signal advantage in this engagement, more than that the Austrians remained masters of the field; yet great rejoicings were made at Vienna on account of it. The death of General Winterfield was, indeed, an irreparable loss to his Prussian Majesty, who received at the same time the news of this misfortune, and of the Swedes having now actually begun hostilities in Pomerania.

§ XVI. A body of the French, who, let loose against the King of Prussia, by the ever-memorable and shameful convention of Closter-Seven, had entered the territories of Halberstadt and Magdeburgh, were worsted at Eglen by a party of six hundred

dred men, under the command of Count Horn, whom Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick had detached from a body of troops with which his Prussian Majesty had sent him to defend those countries. The Prusians took prisoners the Count de Lusignan, Colonel, eighteen other French officers, and four hundred soldiers, and made themselves masters of a considerable booty in baggage, &c. with the loss of only two men; and, moreover, a French officer and forty men were made prisoners at Halberstadt. Upon this check the French evacuated the country of Halberstadt for a little while, but returning again on the twenty-ninth of September, with a considerable reinforcement from Mareschal Richelieu's army, which he now could easily spare, Prince Ferdinand was obliged to retire to Winsleben, near the city of Magdeburgh. The dangers which had been hitherto kept at a distance from the Prussian dominions, by the surprizing activity of their King, now drew nearer, and menaced them on all sides. Mareschal Richelieu, with eighty battalions and an hundred squadrons, entered the country of Halberstadt, and levied immense contributions; whilst the allied army of the French and Imperialists being joined by six thousand men under General Laudohn, who had defeated a regiment of Prussian cavalry near Erfurth, marched to Wissenfels, a city in the very centre of Thuringia. The Swedes had actually taken some towns in Pomerania, and were advancing to besiege Stetin, and the Austrians, who had made themselves masters of Lignitz, and a considerable part of Silesia, had now laid siege to Schweidnitz, and were preparing to pass the Oder, in order to attack the Prince of Bevern in his camp near Breslau. In the mean time they made frequent and always destructive incursions into Brandenburgh; to oppose which his Prussian Majesty ordered detachments from all his regiments in those parts to join the militia of the country, and sent the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau from Leipzig,

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Leipzig, with a body of ten thousand men, to guard Berlin, whilst he himself marched with the troops under his command to Interbeck, on the frontier of the Lower Lusatia, to be the more at hand to cover Brandenburgh, and preserve the communication with Silesia.

§ XVII. While these precautions were taking, General Haddick, with fifteen or sixteen thousand Austrians, entered Brandenburgh on the sixteenth of October, and the next day arrived before Berlin, of which city he demanded a contribution of six hundred thousand crowns; but contented himself with two hundred and ten thousand. The Austrians pillaged two of the suburbs; but before they could do any further mischief, they were obliged to retire in great haste, at the approach of the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau, whose vanguard entered the city in the evening of their departure. This alarm, however, obliged the Queen and the royal family of Prussia to remove to Magdeburgh on the twenty-third; and the most valuable records were sent to the fort of Spandau, at the conflux of the Havel and the Sphre. On the other hand, the unfortunate inhabitants of Leipzig now felt most severely the cruel effects of the power of their new master.— The Prussian commandant in that city had, by order of the King, demanded of them three hundred thousand crowns, a sum far greater than it was in their power to raise. This truth they represented, but in vain. The short time allowed them to furnish their contingents being expired, and all their efforts to comply with this demand having pro ineffectual, they were subjected to the rigor military execution; in consequence of which t houses were occupied by the soldiery, who seized upon the best apartments, and lived at discretion; but the sum demanded could not be found. Such was the situation of this distressed city, when, on the fifteenth of October, an express arrived, with advice

advice that his Prussian Majesty would soon be there; and accordingly he arrived a few minutes afterwards, attended by his life-guards. At the same time, a rumour was spread that the city would be delivered up to pillage, which threw the inhabitants into the utmost consternation. Their fears, however, in that respect were soon abated by his Majesty's declaring, that he was willing to spare the place, upon condition that half the sum required should be immediately paid. All that could be done was to collect among the merchants, traders, and others, fifty thousand crowns; bills of exchange were drawn upon Amsterdam and London for seventy thousand crowns, and hostages were given, by way of security, for the payment of thirty thousand more within a time which was agreed on. But still, notwithstanding this, the military execution was continued, even with greater rigour than before, and all the comfort the wretched inhabitants could obtain was, that it should cease whenever advice should be received that their bills were accepted.

§ XVIII. The King of Prussia had tried several times to bring the combined army under the Princes Saxe-Hilburghausen and Soubise to an engagement upon fair ground; but finding them bent on declining it, notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers, he had recourse to one of those strokes in war, by which a General is better seen than by the gaining of a victory. He made a feint, soon after the beginning of October, as if he intended nothing more than to secure his own dominions, and march his army into winter-quarters back to Berlin, leaving Mareschal Keith, with only seven or eight thousand men, to defend Leipzig. Upon this the enemy took courage, passed the Sala, and having marched up to the city, summoned the Mareschal to surrender; to which he answered, That the King, his master, had ordered him to defend the place to the last extremity, and he would obey his orders. The

 enemy

enemy then thought of besieging the city: but, before they could prepare any one implement for that purpose, they were alarmed by the approach of the King of Prussia, who, judging that his feint would probable induce them to take the step they did, had, by previous and private orders, collected together all his distant detachments, some of which were twenty leagues asunder, and was advancing, by long marches, to Leipzig; upon notice of which the enemy repassed the Sala. The Prussian army was re-assembled on the twenty-seventh of October, and remained at Leipzig the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth, when every body expected a battle would be fought in the plains of Lutzen. On the thirtieth, the King drew nigh to that place, and on the thirty-first, in his way through Weissenfels and Meresbourg, he made five hundred men prisoners of war. The combined army had repassed the Sala at Weissenfels, Meresbourg, and Halle, where they broke down the bridges; but these were soon repaired, and the whole Prussian army, amounting to no more than twenty thousand men, having passed that river, through these towns, in each of which they left a battalion, joined again on the third of November, in the evening, over against the enemy, whose forces consisted of forty thousand French, and twenty-five thousand Imperialists. On the fifth, about nine o'clock in the morning, the Prussians received intelligence that the enemy were every where in motion. They likewise heard the drums beating the march, and, so near were the two armies to each other, plainly perceived from their camp, that their whole infantry, which had drawn nearer upon the rising grounds over against them, was filing off towards their right. No certain judgement could, however, yet be formed of the enemy's real design, and as they were in want of bread, it was thought probable that they intended to repass the Unstrut; but it was soon perceived that their

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several motions were contradictory to each other. At the same time that some of their infantry were filing off towards their right, a large body of cavalry wheeled round towards their left, directing its march all along to the rising grounds with which the whole Prussian camp, that lay in a bottom between the villages of Rederow and Rosbach, was surrounded within the reach of large cannon. Soon after that the cavalry were seen to halt, and afterward to fall back to the right; though some of them still remained where they were, whilst the rest marched back. About two in the afternoon the doubts of the Prussians were cleared up; it plainly appearing then that the enemy intended to attack them, and that their dispositions were made with a view to surround them, and to open the action by attacking them in the rear. A body of reserve was posted over against Rederow, to fall upon their routed troops, in case they should be defeated, and to prevent their retiring to Meresbourg, the only retreat which could then have been left them. In this situation the King of Prussia resolved to attack them. His Majesty had determined to make the attack with one wing only, and the disposition of the enemy made it necessary that it should be the left wing. The very instant the battle was going to begin, his Majesty ordered the General who commanded the right wing to decline engaging, to take a proper position in consequence thereof, and, above all, to prevent his being surrounded. All the cavalry of the right wing of the Prussians, except two or three squadrons, had already marched to the left at full gallop; and being arrived at the place assigned them, they formed over against that of the enemy. They then moved on immediately, the enemy's advanced to meet them, and the charge was very fierce, several regiments of the French coming on with great resolution. The advantage, however, was entirely on the side of the Prussians. The

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enemy's cavalry being routed, were pursued for a considerable time with great spirit, but having afterwards reached an eminence, which gave them an opportunity of rallying, the Prussian cavalry fell upon them afresh, and gave them so total a defeat that they fled in the utmost disorder. This happened at four in the afternoon. Whilst the cavalry of the Prussians charged, their infantry opened. The enemy cannonaded them briskly during this interval, and did some execution, but the Prussian artillery was not idle. After this cannonading had continued on both sides a full quarter of an hour, without the least intermission, the fire of the infantry began. The enemy could not stand it, nor resist the valour of the Prussian foot, who gallantly marched up to their batteries. The batteries were carried one after another, and the enemy were forced to give way, which they did in great confusion. As the left wing of the Prussians advanced, the right changed its position, and having soon met with a small rising ground, they availed themselves of it, by planting it with sixteen pieces of heavy artillery. The fire from thence was partly pointed at the enemy's right, to increase the disorder there, and took their left wing in front, which was excessively galled thereby. At five the victory was decided, the cannonading ceased, and the enemy fled on all sides. They were pursued as long as there was any light to distinguish them, and it may be said, that night alone was the preservation of this army, which had been so formidable in the morning. They took the benefit of the darkness to enter into Fryburgh, and there to repass the Unstrut, which they did on the morning of the sixth, after a whole night's march. The King of Prussia set out early in the morning to pursue them with all his cavalry, supported by four battalions of grenadiers, the infantry following them in two columns. The enemy had passed the Unstrut at Fryburgh, when the Prussians arrived

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on its banks, and as they had burnt the bridge, it became necessary to make another, which, however, was soon done. The cavalry passed first, but could not come up with the enemy till five in the evening, upon the hills of Eckersberg. It was then too late to force them there, for which reason the King thought proper to canton his army in the nearest villages, and to be satisfied with the success his hussars had in taking near three hundred baggage-waggons, and every thing they contained. The whole loss of the Prussians, in this important engagement, did not exceed five hundred men killed and wounded. Among the former was General Meincke, and among the latter Prince Henry and General Seydelitz. The enemy lost sixty-four pieces of cannon, a great many standards and colours, near three thousand men killed on the field of battle, and upwards of eight thousand taken prisoners, among whom were several Generals, and other officers of distinction. Three hundred waggons were sent to Leipzig, laden with wounded French and Swiss. Upon the approach of the Prussians towards Eckersberg, the enemy retreated with great precipitation; and, after marching all night, arrived the next day at Erfurth, in the utmost want of every necessary of life, not having had a morsel of bread for two days, during which they had been obliged to live upon turneps, radishes, and other roots, which they dug out of the earth. The French, under the Duke de Richelieu, were preparing to go into winter-quarters; but, upon the news of this defeat of the combined army, they again put themselves in motion, and a large detachment of them advanced as far as Duderstadt, to favour the retreat of their countrymen under the Prince de Soubise, who, with great precipitancy, made the best of their way from Erfurth to the county of Hohenstein, and from thence bent their march towards Halberstadt. Of the remains of the Imperial army, which was now almost entirely

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entirely dispersed, whole bodies deserted, and went over to the King of Prussia soon after this battle.

§ XIX. Whilst his Prussian Majesty was thus successful against the French and Imperialists, the Austrians, who had carefully avoided coming to an open engagement with him, gained ground apace in Silesia. A detachment of their army, under the command of Count Nadasti, had already invested Schweidnitz, and opened the trenches before it on the twenty-sixth of October. The Prussian garrison, commanded by General de la Motte Fouquet, determined to defend the place as long as possible; and accordingly on the thirtieth they made a sally, in which they killed, wounded, and took prisoners, eight hundred of the besiegers, and did some damage to their works; but on the sixth of November the Austrians began to cannonade the city furiously, and on the eleventh made themselves masters of the ramparts by assault. The garrison, however, having taken care, during the siege, to throw up a strong entrenchment in the market-place, retreated thither, and held out till the next day, when they surrendered themselves prisoners of war. After the reduction of this place, General Nadasti, leaving in it a sufficient garrison, marched with the remainder of his troops, and joined the main army of the Austrians under the command of Prince Charles of Lorraine and Mareschal Daun, who, whilst he was busied in the siege of Schweidnitz, had invested Breslau on the left of the Oder; the Prince of Bevern defending it on the right, where he was strongly encamped, with his little army, under the cannon of the city. The whole army of the Austrians being now reassembled, and intelligence having been brought, not only of the King of Prussia's late victory near Leipzig, but also that he was advancing to the relief of the Prince of Bevern, it was resolved immediately, to attack the last in his entrenchments. Accordingly, on the twenty-second of November, about nine in the

the morning, the Austrians began a most furious discharge of their cannon, forty of which were twenty-four pounders, and this continued without ceasing till one, when it was succeeded by a severe fire of their small arms, which lasted till five in the evening. The Prussians, with undaunted resolution, stood two of the most violent attacks that were ever made; but at the third, overpowered by numbers, and assailed on both sides, they began to lose ground, and were forced to retire from one entrenchment to another. In this extremity, night coming on, the Prussian Generals fearing their entrenchments would be entirely forced, and that they should then be totally defeated, thought proper to retreat. The Prince of Bevern, with the greatest part of the army, retired to an eminence on the banks of the Oder, whilst the rest of the troops threw themselves into Breslau, which they might have defended, in all probability, till the King had come to its relief. But, on the twenty-fourth, their commander in chief, the Prince of Bevern, going to reconnoitre the enemy, with only a single groom to attend him, fell in among a party of Croats, who took him prisoner*. His army, thus deprived of their general, retreated northward that night, leaving in Breslau only four battalions, who, the next day surrendered the place by capitulation, one of the articles of which

* We are told, that he mistook these Croats for Prussian hussars. But some of the circumstances of this mysterious affair were interpreted into a premeditated design in the Prince to be taken prisoner. It cannot otherwise be supposed that a man of his rank, a Prince, a commander in chief, should officiously undertake the always dangerous task of reconnoiring the enemy with so slight an attendance as only one man, and that but a groom, even if he had judged it necessary to see things with his own eyes. Some secret dissatisfaction, hitherto unknown to us, may possibly have been the cause of his taking this step; or, which seems still more probable, he might be ashamed, or, perhaps, even afraid, to see the King his master, after having so injudiciously abandoned the defence of Breslau, by quitting his lines, which it is asserted, his Prussian Majesty had sent him express orders not to quit on any account whatever, for that he would certainly be with him by the fifth of December, in which we shall find he kept his word.

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was, that they should not serve against the Empress, or her allies, for two years. All the magazines, chests, artillery, &c. remained in the hands of the Austrians. The garrison marched out with all military honours, conducted by General Leswitz, governor of Breslau. Though the Austrians sung *Te Deum* for this victory, they owned that such another would put an end to their army; for it cost them the lives of twelve thousand men; a number almost equal to the whole of the Prussian army before the battle. They had four almost inaccessible entrenchments to force, planted thick with cannon, which fired cartridge-shot from nine in the morning till the evening, and the Prussians, when attacked, were never once put into the least confusion. Among the slain, on the side of the Austrians, were General Wurben, and several other officers of distinction. The loss of the Prussians did not much exceed three thousand men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of which last there were about sixteen hundred. Their General Kleist was found dead on the field of battle.

§ XX. The King of Prussia, who like Cæsar, thought nothing was done while any thing was left undone, stayed no longer at Rosbach than till the routed forces of the French and Imperialists, whom he had defeated there on the fifth of November, were totally dispersed. Then he marched directly with the greatest part of his army for Silesia, and on the twenty-fourth of that month arrived at Naumberg on the Queiss, a little river which runs into the Bobber, having in his route detached Mareschal Keith, with the rest of his army, to clear Saxony from all the Austrian parties, and then to make an irruption into Bohemia, a service which he performed so effectually, as to raise large contributions in the circles of Satz and Leitmeritz, and even to give an alarm to Prague itself. His Majesty reserved for himself only fifteen thousand men, with whom he advanced, with his usual rapidity, to Barchwitz,

Barchwitz, where, notwithstanding all that had happened at Schweidnitz and at Breslau, he was joined by twenty-four thousand more; part of them troops which he had ordered from Saxony, part the remains of the army lately commanded by the Prince of Bevern, and part the late garrison of Schweidnitz, which had found means to escape from the Austrians, and accidentally joined their King upon his march *. With this force, though greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy, he resolved to attack the Austrians, who were entrenched at Lissa near Breslau. On the fourth of December he seized upon their ovens at Neumarck, and upon a considerable magazine; guarded by two regiments of Croats, who retired to a rising ground, where his Majesty ordered his hussars to surround them, and send a trumpet to summon them to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Upon their refusal, the hussars of Zithen fell upon them sabre in hand, and some hundreds of them having been cut in pieces, the rest threw down their arms, begging for quarter on their knees. After this seizure, and after having distributed to his army the bread prepared for his enemies, he began again the next morning his march towards Lissa. General Zithen, who led the vanguard of light-horse, about seven in the morning fell in with a body of Austrian hussars, and three

* Whilst the Austrians were conducting them to prison, on their route they chanced to hear of the victory their master had gained at Rosbach. Animated by these tidings, they unanimously rose upon the escort that guarded them, which happening not to be very strong, they entirely dispersed. Thus freed, they marched on, not very certain of their way, in hopes to rejoin some corps of the Prussian troops, their countrymen. The same fortune which freed them led them directly to the army commanded by the King himself, which was hastening to their relief, as well as to that of the Prince of Bevern. This unexpected meeting was equally pleasing to both, the prisoners not having heard any thing of his Majesty's march; and, at the same time, this lucky incident, whilst it added a considerable strength to the army, added likewise to its confidence, for the slightest occurrence is construed into an omen by an army at the eve of an engagement.

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regiments of Saxon dragoons, which were the very best cavalry the enemy had left after the battle of the twenty-second. They had been detached by the Austrians, in order to retard the King's march, and to conceal their own, till their batteries should be completed; for, as they held the small number of the Prussians in contempt, their intention was to have met the King two German miles from their entrenchments. The Austrian cavalry having been vigorously repulsed to a considerable distance, General Zithen perceived that their whole army was forming. He immediately acquainted the King with what he had discovered, and his Majesty, after having himself observed the disposition of the enemy, made his own with that sagacity and dispatch for which he has always been remarkable. The action began by attacking a battery of forty pieces of large cannon, which covered the right wing of the enemy. The two battalions of guards, with the regiments of the Margrave Charles and of Itzenplitz, marched up, amidst a most terrible fire, to the very mouths of the cannon, with their bayonets screwed. In this attack the Prussians sustained the greatest loss, though the battery was carried as soon almost as they could reach it: then the enemy's artillery now turned against themselves, played furiously upon them with their own powder. From that instant the two wings and the centre of the Prussians continued to drive the enemy before them, advancing all the time with that firm and regular pace for which they have always been renowned, without ever halting or giving way. The ground which the Austrians occupied was very advantageous, and every circumstance that could render it more so had been improved to the utmost by the diligence and skill of Count Daun, who, remembering his former success, was emboldened to enter the lists again with his royal antagonist. The Prussians, however, no way terrified by the enemy's

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situation, nor their numbers, went calmly and dreadfully forward. It was almost impossible, in the beginning, for the Prussian cavalry to act, on account of the impediments of fallen trees, which the enemy had cut down and laid in the field of battle, to retard their approach; but a judicious disposition which the King made overcame that disadvantage. When he first formed his army, he had placed four battalions behind the cavalry of his right wing, foreseeing that General Nadasti, who was placed with a corps of reserve on the enemy's left, designed to take him in flank. It happened as he had foreseen, this General's horse attacked the King's right wing with great fury: but he was received with so severe a fire from the four battalions, that he was obliged to retire in disorder. The enemy gave way on all sides; but at some distance recovered themselves, and rallied three times, animated by their officers, and by the superiority of their numbers. Every time they made a stand, the Prussians attacked them with redoubled vigour, and with success equal to their bravery. Towards night, the enemy, still retreating, fell into disorder. Their two wings fled in confusion; one of them, closely pressed by the King, retired towards Breslau, and took shelter under the cannon of that city; the other pursued by the greatest part of the light cavalry, took their flight towards Canth and Schweidnitz. Six thousand Austrians fell in this engagement, and the Prussians, who had only five hundred men killed, and two thousand three hundred wounded, made upwards of ten thousand of the enemy prisoners, among whom were two hundred and ninety-one officers. They took also an hundred and sixteen cannon, fifty-one colours and standards, and four thousand waggons of ammunition and baggage. The consequences that followed this victory declared its importance. Future ages will read with astonishment, that the same Prince, who but a few months before seemed

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on the verge of inevitable ruin, merely by the dint of his own abilities, without the assistance of any friend whatever, with troops perpetually harassed by long and painful marches, and by continual skirmishes and battles, not only retrieved his affairs, which almost every one, except himself, thought past redress; but, in the midst of winter, in countries where it was judged next to impossible for any troops to keep the field at that season, conquered the united force of France and the Empire at Rosbach, on the fifth of November; and on the same day of the very next month, with a great part of the same army, was at Lissa, where he again triumphed over all the powers of the house of Austria. Pursuing his advantage he immediately invested Breslau, and within two days after this great victory every thing was in readiness to besiege it in form. His troops, flushed with success, were at first for storming it, but the King, knowing the strength of the garrison, which consisted of upwards of thirteen thousand men, and considering both the fatigues which his own soldiers had lately undergone, and the fatal consequences that might ensue, should they fail of success in this attempt, ordered the approaches to be carried on in the usual form. His commands were obeyed, and Breslau surrendered to him on the twentieth of December in the morning. The garrison, of which ten thousand bore arms, and between three and four thousand lay sick or wounded, were made prisoners of war. Fourteen of these prisoners were officers of high rank. The military chest, a vast treasure, with eighty pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the victors, who lost only about twenty men in their approaches. During the siege, a magazine of powder was set on fire by a bomb, which occasioned great confusion among the besieged, and damaged one of the bastions. The strong fortress of Schweidnitz still remained in the enemy's possession, defended by a garrison so numerous, that it might be compared

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to a small army, and whilst that continued so, the King of Prussia's victories in Silesia were of no decisive effect. For this reason, though it was now the dead of winter, and the soldiers stood in need of repose, his Majesty resolved, if possible, to become master of that place before the end of the year; but as a close siege was impracticable, a blockade was formed, as strictly as the rigour of the season would permit *. It was not, however, till the beginning of the ensuing campaign that this place was taken. The Prussians opened their trenches before it on the third of April, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight, and erected two large batteries, which kept a continual fire upon the town. The artillery of the besiegers consisted of three hundred pieces of cannon, of different dimensions, and eighty mortars; an amazing artillery, and such as we have never heard of in former compaigns. On the night of the fourteenth, the Prussians carried one of the chief works by assault, and lodged themselves therein: the commandant capitulated the next day, with the garrison, which was now greatly reduced in number, being not half of what it amounted to at the beginning of the blockade. Thus, all the parts of Silesia, which the King of Prussia had lost by one unfortunate blow, fell again into his possession; and his affairs, which but a few months before seemed irretrievable, were now re-established upon a firmer basis than ever. The Prussian parties not only re-possessed themselves of those parts of Silesia which belonged to their King, but penetrated into the Austrian division, reduced Jagerndorf, Troppau, Tretchen, and several other places, and left the Empress-Queen scarce any foot-

* Such was the rigour of the season, that some hundreds of the sentinels dropped down dead on their several posts, unable to sustain the severity of the cold. The Germans lie under the general reproach of paying very little regard to the lives of their soldiers, and indeed this practice of winter campaigns, in such a cold country, bespeaks very little regard to the dictates of humanity.

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ing in that country, in which, a few days before, she reckoned her dominion perfectly established.

§ XXI. The Swedes, after many debates between their King and Senate, had at length resolved upon an open declaration against the King of Prussia, and, in consequence of that resolution, sent so many troops into Pomerania, that by the end of August, their army in that country amounted to twenty-five thousand men. Their first act of hostility was the seizure of Anclam and Demmin, two towns that lay in the way to Stetin, against which their principal design was levelled. But before they proceeded farther, General Hamilton, their commander, by way of justifying the conduct of his master, published a declaration, setting forth, "That the King of Sweden, as a guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, could not help sending his troops into the upper part of the duchy of Pomerania belonging to the King of Prussia; and that, therefore, all the officers appointed to receive the public revenue in that country must pay what money they had in their hands to him, who was commissioned to receive it for his Swedish Majesty: that, moreover, an exact account was required, within eight days, of the revenues of the country; but that no more than ordinary contributions would be demanded of the inhabitants, who might rest assured that the Swedish troops should observe the strictest discipline." After this declaration, they attacked the little fortress of Penemunde, upon the river Pene, and on the twenty-third of September, after a siege of nine days, obliged the garrison, which consisted only of militia, to surrender themselves prisoners of war. This alternative the commanding officer chose, rather than engage not to serve for two years, observing, that such an engagement was inconsistent with his honour, whilst his prince had so much occasion for his service; and the Swedish General, touched with this noble way of thinking, was, on his part, so generous

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rous as to give him his liberty. On the other hand, General Manteuffel, who commanded the Prussian forces then in Pomerania, amounting to twelve thousand men, with whom he was encamped before Stetin, to cover that place, published in answer to this a declaration, enjoining the inhabitants of Pomerania to remain faithful to the King of Prussia, their lawful sovereign, under pain of incurring his just indignation, and absolutely forbidding them to pay any regard to the Swedish manifesto.

§ XXII. In the mean time, Mareschal Lehwald, immediately after the battle of Norkitten, when the Russians began their retreat, detached Prince George of Holstein-Gottorp, with a considérable body of forces, to the relief of Pomerania; and, shortly after, the Russian forces having totally evacuated every part of Prussia, except Memel, and most of them being actually gone into winter quarters, he himself followed with an additional reinforcement of sixteen thousand men. Upon his approach, the Swedes, who were then encamped at Ferdinandshoff, and had begun to fill up the harbour of Swinnemunde, by way of previous preparation for the siege of Stetin, retired with such precipitation, that they did not allow themselves time to draw off a little garrison they had at Wollin, consisting of two hundred and ten men, who were made prisoners of war. Demmin was cannonaded by the Prussians on the twenty-ninth of December; and the Swedes having lost one officer and forty men, desired to capitulate. As, in order to ease the troops, it was not thought proper to continue the siege in so sharp a season, their request was granted, and they had leave to retire with two pieces of cannon. The Prussians took possession of the town on the second day of January, after the Swedes had, on the thirtieth of December, likewise given up Anclam, where the conquerors took an hundred and fifty prisoners, and found a considerable magazine of provisions and ammunition. Mareschal Lehwald,

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Lehwald, then passed the Pene, entered Swedish Pomerania, and reduced Gutzkow, Loitz, Tripsus, and Nebringen. At the same time, Lieutenant-General Schorlemmer passed with his corps from the isle of Wollin into the isle of Usedom, and from thence to Wolgast, the Swedes having abandoned the town, as well as Schwinemunde, and the fort of Penemunde. The Prince of Holstein advanced as far as Grimm and Grieffswalde, and the Swedes, losing one town after another, till they had nothing left in Pomerania but the port of Stralsund, continued retreating till they had reached this last place. The French party in Sweden to comfort the people, called this retreat, or rather flight, going into winter quarters. The Prussian hussars were not idle wherever they penetrated; for, besides plundering and pillaging, they raised a contribution of an hundred and sixty thousand crowns in Swedish Pomerania. The Mecklenburghers, who had joined the Swedes with six thousand of their troops, now found cause to repent of their forwardness, being left quite exposed to the resentment of the victors, who chastised them with the most severe exactions. The army of the Swedes, though they did not fight a battle, was, by sickness, desertion, and other accidents, reduced to half the number it consisted of when they took the field. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, soon after his territories were invaded by the French, in consequence of their advantage in the affair of Hastenbeck, had applied to the King of Sweden, as one of the guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, desiring him to employ his good offices with the court of France, to obtain a more favourable treatment for his dominions: but his Swedish Majesty, by the advice of the Senate, thought proper to refuse complying with this request, alledging, that as the crown of Sweden was one of the principal guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, it would be highly improper to take such a step, in favour of a prince who

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had not only broke the laws and constitutions of the Empire, in refusing to furnish his contingent, but had even assisted, with his troops, a power known to be its declared enemy. The Aulick council too, seeing, or pretending to see, the behaviour of the Landgrave in the same light, issued a decree against his Serene Highness towards the end c˜ this year.

§ XXIII. The Court of Great-Britain, justly displeased with the Dutch, on account of the extreme facility with which they had granted the French a free passage through Namur and Maestricht for their provisions, ammunition, and artillery, in the beginning of this campaign, had very properly remonstrated against that step, before it was absolutely resolved on, or at least declared to be so; but in vain; a pusillanimous answer being all the satisfaction that was obtained. The tameness and indifference with which the States-General had since seen Ostend and Nieuport put into the hands of the French, drew upon their High Mightinesses a further remonstrance, which was delivered to them on the twenty-eighth of November of this year by Colonel Yorke, his Britannick Majesty's Plenipotentiary at the Hague, in the following terms, well calculated to awaken in them a due sense of their own danger, as well as to evince the injustice of the proceedings of the House of Austria:—"Considering the critical situation which Europe has been in during the course of this year, in consequense of measures concerted to embroil all Europe, the King of Great-Britain was willing to flatter himself that the Courts of Vienna and Versailles, out of regard to the circumspect conduct observed by your High Mightinesses, would have at least informed you of the changes they have thought proper to make in the Austrian Netherlands. It was with the utmost surprize the King heard, that without any previous consent of your's; and almost without giving you any notice, the Court of Vienna had thought proper to put the towns of Ostend and

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Nieuport into the hands of the French troops, and to withdraw her own, as well as her artillery and stores, whilst France continues to send thither a formidable quantity of both. The conduct of the Court of Vienna towards his Majesty is indeed so unmerited and so extraordinary, that it is difficult to find words to express it: but whatever fallacious pretexts she may have made use of to palliate her behaviour towards England, it does not appear that they can be extended so far as to excuse the infringement, in concert with France, of the most solemn treaties between her and your High Mightinesses. The King never doubted that your High Mightinesses would have made proper representations to the two Courts newly allied, to demonstrate the injustice of such a proceeding, and the danger that might afterwards result from it. Your High Mightinesses will have perceived that your silence on the first step encouraged the two Courts, newly allied, to attempt others; and who can say where they will stop? The pretext at first was, the need which the Empress-Queen stood in of the troops for the war kindled in the Empire, and the necessity of providing for the safety of those important places, and afterwards of their imaginary danger from England. But, High and mighty Lords, it is but too evident that the two Powers, who have taken these measures in concert, have other projects in view, and have made new regulations with regard to that country, which cannot but alarm the neighbouring States. The late demand made to your High Mightinesses, of a passage for a large train of warlike implements through some of the barrier towns, in order to be sent to Ostend and Nieuport, could not fail to awaken the King's attention. The sincere friendship, and parity of interests of Great-Britain and Holland, require that they should no longer keep silence, lest, in the issue, it should be considered as a tacit consent, and as a relinquishment of all our rights. The King

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commands me, therefore to recal to your High Mightinesses the two-fold right you have acquired to keep the Austrian Netherlands under the government of the House of Austria; and that no other has a title to make the least alteration therein, without the consent of your High Mightinesses; unless the new allies have resolved to set aside all prior treaties, and to dispose at pleasure of every thing that may suit their private interest. In the treaty between your High Mightinesses and the Crown of France, signed at Utrecht, on the eleventh of April, one thousand seven hundred and thirteen, in the fifteenth article, are these words: 'It is also agreed, that no province, fort, town, or city of the said Netherlands, or of those which are given up by his Catholick Majesty, shall ever be ceded, transferred, or given, or shall ever devolve, to the Crown of France, or any Prince or Princess of the House or Line of France, either by virtue of any gift, exchange, marriage-contract, succession by will, or by any other title whatever, to the power and authority of the most Christian King, or of any Prince or Princess of the House or Line of France.' In the barrier-treaty these very stipulations are repeated in the first article: 'His Imperial and Catholick Majesty promises and engages, that no province, city, town, fortress, or territory of the said country, shall be ceded, transferred, given, or devolve to the Crown of France, or to any other but the successor of the German dominions, of the house of Austria, either by donation, sale, exchange, marriage-contract, heritage, testamentary succession, nor under any other pretext whatsoever; so that no province, town, fortress, or territory of the said Netherlands shall ever be subject to any other Prince, but to the successor of the States of the House of Austria alone, excepting what has been yielded by the present treaty to the said Lords the States-General.' A bare reading of these two articles is sufficient to evince all that I

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§ XXIV. The King of Prussia, about this period, began to harbour a suspicion that certain other Powers longed eagerly to enjoy the same respite from the dangers and inconveniencies of war, and that he ran the risque of being abandoned by his sole patron and ally, who seemed greatly alarmed at his defeat in Bohemia, and desirous of detaching himself from a connection which might be productive of the most

disagreeable consequences to his continental interest. Stimulated by this opinion, his Prussian Majesty is said to have written an expostulatory letter* to the King of Great-Britain, in which he very plainly taxes that Monarch with having instigated him to commence hostilities; and insists upon his remembering the engagements by which he was so solemnly bound. From the strain of this letter, and the Prussian's declaration to the British minister when he first set out for Saxony, importing, that he was going to fight the King of England's battles, a notion was generally conceived that those two Powers had agreed to certain private pacta or conventions, the particulars of which have not yet transpired. Certain it is, a declaration was delivered to the Prussian Resident at London, which appears to have been calculated as an answer to the letter. In that paper the King of Great-Britain declared, that the overtures made by his Majesty's electoral ministers in Germany, touching the checks received on the continent, should have no influence on his Majesty as King: that he saw, in the same light as before, the pernicious effects of the union between the Courts of Vienna and Versailles, threatening a subversion of the whole system of publick liberty, and of the independence of the European Powers: that he considered as a fatal consequence of this dangerous connection the cession

* The letter which was written in French, we have translated for the reader's satisfaction.

"I am informed that the design of a treaty of neutrality for the electorate of Hanover is not yet laid aside. Is it possible that your Majesty can have so little fortitude and constancy, as to be dispirited by a small reverse of fortune? Are affairs so ruinous that they cannot be repaired? I hope your Majesty will consider the step you have made me hazard, and remember that you are the sole cause of these misfortunes that now impend over my head. I should never have abandoned the alliance of France, but for your flattering assurances. I do not now repent of the treaty I have concluded with your Majesty; but I expect you will not ingloriously leave me at the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the force of Europe. I depend upon your adhering to your repeated engagements of the twenty-sixth of last month, and that you will listen to no treaty in which I am not comprehended."

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made by the Court of Vienna of the ports in the Netherlands to France in such a critical situation, and contrary to the faith of the most solemn treaties; that, whatever might be the success of his arms, his Majesty was determined to act in constant concert with the King of Prussia, in employing the most efficacious means to frustrate the unjust and oppressive designs of their common enemies. He concluded with assuring the King of Prussia, that the British Crown would continue to fulfil, with the greatest punctuality, its engagements with his Prussian Majesty, and to support him with firmness and vigour. Such a representation could not fail of being agreeable to a Prince, who, at this juncture, stood in need of an extraordinary cordial. He knew he could securely depend, not only on the good faith of an English ministry, but also on the good plight of the British nation, which like an indulgent nurse, hath always presented the nipple to her meagre German allies. Those, however, who pretended to consider and canvass events without prejudice and prepossession, could not help owning their surprize, at hearing an alliance stigmatized as pernicious to the system of public liberty, and subversive of the independence of the European Powers, as they remembered that this alliance was the effect of necessity, to which the House of Austria was reduced, for its own preservation; reduced, as its friends and partisans affirm, by those very potentates that now reproached her with these connections.

§ XXV. His Britannick Majesty was resolved that the King of Prussia should have no cause to complain of his indifference, whatever reasons he had to exclaim against the convention of Closter-Seven, which he did not scruple to condemn as a very scandalous capitulation, as much as he disapproved of the conduct; in consequence of which near forty thousand men were so shamefully disarmed, and lost to his cause. Those stipulations also met with

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a very unfavourable reception in England, where the motions of the allied army, in their retreat before the enemy, were very freely censured, and some great names exposed to the ridicule and contempt of the publick. This event, so singular in itself, and so important in its consequences, attracted the attention of the Privy-council, where it is said to have been canvassed with great warmth and animosity of altercation. The General complained that he was restricted by peremptory orders from the Regency of Hanover; and they were reported to have used recriminations in their defence. In all probability, every circumstance of the dispute was not explained to the satisfaction of all parties, inasmuch as that great commander quitted the harvest of military glory, and like another Cincinnatus, retired to his plough. The Convention of Closter-Seven was equally disagreeable to the Courts of London and Versailles. The former saw the electorate of Hanover left, by this capitulation, at the mercy of the enemy, who had taken possession of the whole country, seized the revenues, exacted contributions, and changed the whole form of government, in the name of his Most Christian Majesty; while the French army, which had been employed in opposing the Hanoverians, was now at liberty to throw their additional force into the scale against the King of Prussia, who, at that period, seemed to totter on the verge of destruction. On the the other hand, the French ministry thought their General had granted too favourable terms to a body of forces, whom he had cooped up in such a manner, that, in a little time, they must have surrendered at discretion. They, therefore, determined either to provoke the Hanoverians by ill usage to an infraction of the treaty, or, should that be found impracticable, renounce it as an imperfect convention, established without proper authority. Both expedients were used without reserve. They were no sooner informed of the capitulation,

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pitulation, than they refused to acknowledge its validity, except on condition that the Hanoverian troops should formally engage to desist from all service against France and her allies during the present war, and be disarmed on their return to their own country. At the same time her General, who commanded in the electorate, exhausted the country, by levying exorbitant contributions, and connived at such outrages as degraded his own dignity, and reflected disgrace on the character of his nation. The Court of London, to make a merit of necessity, affected to consider the conventional act as a provisional armistice, to pave the way for a negociation that might terminate in a general peace, and proposals were offered for that purpose; but the French ministry kept aloof, and seemed resolved that the electorate of Hanover should be annexed to their King's dominions. At least, they were bent upon keeping it as a precious depositum, which, in the plan of a general pacification, they imagined, would counterbalance any advantage that Great-Britain might obtain in other parts of the world. Had they been allowed to keep this deposit, the kingdom of Great-Britain would have saved about twenty millions of money, together with the lives of her best soldiers; and Westphalia would have continued to enjoy all the blessings of security and peace. But the King of England's tenderness for Hanover was one of the chief sources of the misfortunes which befel the electorate. He could not bear the thoughts of seeing it, even for a season, in the hands of the enemy; and his own sentiments in this particular were reinforced by the pressing remonstrances of the Prussian Monarch, whom, at this juncture, he thought it dangerous to disoblige. Actuated by these motives, he was pleased to see the articles of the convention so palpably contravened, because the violation unbound his hands, and enabled him, consistently with good faith, to

take

take effectual steps for the assistance of his ally, and the recovery of his own dominions. He, therefore, in quality of Elector of Brunswick-Lunenbourg, published a declaration, observing, "That his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland had, on his part, honestly fulfilled all the conditions of the convention; but the Duke de Richelieu demanded that the troops should enter into an engagement specified above, and lay down their arms; although it was expressly stipulated in the convention, that they should not be regarded as prisoners of war, under which quality alone they could be disarmed; that the French Court pretended to treat the convention as a military regulation only; and indeed, it was originally nothing more; but as they had expressly disowned its validity, and a negociation had been actually begun for disarming the auxiliaries, upon certain conditions, though the French General would never answer categorically, but waited always for fresh instructions from Versailles, the nature of that act was totally changed, and what was at first an agreement between General and General, was now become a matter of state between the two Courts of London and Versailles; that, however hard the conditions of the convention appeared to be for the troops of Hanover, his Britannick Majesty would have acquiesced with them, had not the French glaringly discovered their design of totally ruining his army and his dominions; and, by the most outrageous conduct, freed his Britannick Majesty from every obligation under which he had been laid by the convention: that, in the midst of the armistice; the most open hostilities had been committed; the castle of Schartzfels had been forcibly seized and pillaged, and the garrison made prisoners of war; the prisoners made by the French before the convention had not been restored, according to an express article stipulated between the Generals, though it had been fulfilled on the part of the Electorate,

by

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by the immediate release of the French prisoners; the bailies of those districts, from which the French troops were excluded by mutual agreement, had been summoned, on pain of military execution, to appear before the French commissary, and compelled to deliver into his hands the publick revenue; the French had appropriated to themselves part of those magazines, which, by express agreement, were destined for the use of the electoral troops; and they had seized the houses, revenue, and corn belonging to the King of England in the city of Bremen, in violation of their engagement to consider that city as a place absolutely free and neutral. He took notice, that they had proceeded to menaces unheard of among civilized people, of burning, sacking, and destroying every thing that fell in their way, should the least hesitation be made in executing the convention according to their interpretation."—Such were the professed considerations that determined his Britannick Majesty to renounce the agreement which they had violated, and have recourse to arms for the relief of his subjects and allies. It was in consequence of this determination that he conferred the command of his electoral army on Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, brother to the Duke of that name, who had distinguished himself in the Prussian army by his great military talents, and was, by blood and inclination, as well as interest, supposed warmly attached to his Britannick Majesty. The truth is, the King of Prussia recommended him to this command, because he knew he could depend upon his concurring with all his measures, in conducting the operations of the British army. The Duke de Richelieu was no sooner informed of these particulars, than he sent a letter to Prince Ferdinand, specifying, "That although for some days he had perceived the Hanoverian troops in motion, in order to form themselves into a body, he could not imagine the object of these movements was to infringe the convention

convention of neutrality which had been established between the Duke of Cumberland and himself, as French General; that he was blinded so far by his confidence in the good faith of the Elector of Hanover, who had signed that convention, as to believe the troops were assembled for no other purpose than to be distributed into winter-quarters, which had been assigned them by the agreement; but his eyes were at last opened, by repeated advices which he had received from all quarters, importing, that the Hanoverians intended to infringe those articles which ought to be sacred and inviolable: he affirmed, the King his master was still willing to give fresh proofs of his moderation, and his desire to spare the effusion of human blood: with that view he declared to his Serene Highness, in the name of his Most Christian Majesty, that he persisted in his resolution of fulfilling exactly all the points of the convention, provided they should be equally observed by the Hanoverian army; but he could not help apprising his Serene Highness, that if this army should take any equivocal step, and still more, should it commit any act of hostility, he would then push matters to the last extremity, looking upon himself as authorised so to do by the rules of war: that he would set fire to all palaces, houses, and gardens; sack all the towns and villages, without sparing the most inconsiderable cottage, and subject the country to all the horrors of war and devastation. He conjured his Serene Highness to reflect on these particulars, and begged he would not lay him under the necessity of taking steps so contrary to his own personal character, as well as to the natural humanity of the French nation." To this letter, which was seconded by the Count de Lynar, the Danish Ambassador, who had meditated the convention, Prince Ferdinand returned a very laconick answer intimating, that he would give the Duke de Richelieu his answer in person at the head of his army. At this particular

juncture

juncture, the French General was disposed to abide by the original articles of the convention, rather than draw upon himself the hostilities of an army which he knew to be brave, resolute, and well appointed, and which he saw at present animated with an eager desire of wiping out the disgrace they had sustained by the capitulation, as well as of relieving their country from the grievous oppression under which it groaned.

§ XXVI. About the latter end of November the Hanoverian army was wholly assembled at Stade, under the auspices of Prince Ferdinand, who resolved, without delay, to drive the French from the electorate, whither they now began their march. Part of the enemy's rear, consisting of two thousand men, was, in their march back to Zell, attacked in the bailiwick off Ebstorff, and entirely defeated by General Schuylenbourg: and, in a few days after this action, another happened upon the river Aller, between two considerable bodies of each army, in which the Hanoverians, commanded by General Zastrow, remained masters of the field. These petty advantages served to encourage the Allies, and put them in possession of Lunenberg, Zell, and part of the Brunswick dominions, which the enemy were obliged to abandon. The operations of Prince Ferdinand however, were retarded by the resolution and obstinate perseverance of the French officer who commanded the garrison of Harbourg. When the Hanoverian troops made themselves masters of the town, he retired into the castle, which he held out against a considerable detachment of the allied army, by whom it was invested; at length, however, the fortifications being entirely demolished, he surrendered upon capitulation. On the sixth day of December, Prince Ferdinand began his march towards Zell, where the French army had taken post, under the command of the Duke de Richelieu, who, at the approach of the Hanoverians, called in his advanced

vanced parties, abandoned several magazines, burned all the farm-houses and buildings belonging to the sheep walks of his Britannick Majesty, without paying the least regard to the representations made by Prince Fernimand on this subject; reduced the suburbs of Zell to ashes, after having allowed his men to plunder the houses, and even set fire to the Orphan-hospital, in which a great number of helpless children are said to have perished. One cannot, without horrour, reflect upon such brutal acts of inhumanity. The French troops, on divers occasions, and in different parts of the Empire, acted tragedies of the same nature, which are not easily reconcileable to the character of a nation famed for sentiment and civility. The Hanoverians having advanced within a league of Zell, the two armies began to cannonade each other; the French troops, posted on the right of the Aller, burned their magazines, and retired into the town, where they were so strongly entrenched, that Prince Ferdinand could not attempt the river, the passes of which were strongly guarded by the enemy. At the same time his troops were exposed to great hardships from the severity of the weather; he, therefore, retreated to Ultzen and Lunenbourg, where his army was put into winter-quarters, and executed several small enterprizes by detachment, while the French General fixed his head-quarters in the city of Hanover, his cantonments extending as far as Zell, in the neighbourhood of which many sharp skirmishes were fought from the out-parties with various success. Their Imperial Majesties were no sooner apprised of these transactions, which they considered as infractions of the convention, than they sent an intimation to the Baron de Steinberg, minister from the King of Great-Britain as Elector of Hanover, that he should appear no more at court, or confer with their ministers; and that his residing at Vienna, as he might easily conceive, could not be very agreeable: in consequence of which message he retired,

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retired, after having obtained the necessary passports for his departure. The chagrin occasioned at the court of Vienna by the Hanoverian army's having recourse to their arms again, was, in some measure, alleviated by the certain tidings received from Petersburgh, that the Czarina had signed her accession in form to the treaty between the Courts of Vienna, Versailles, and Stockholm.

§ XXVII. In closing our account of this year's transactions on the continent, we may observe, that on the sixteenth day of November the Queen of Poland died at Berlin of an apoplexy, supposed to be occasioned by the shock she received on hearing that the French were totally defeated at Rosbach. She was a lady of exemplary virtue and piety, whose constitution had been broke by grief and anxiety conceived from the distress of her own family, as well as from the misery to which she saw her people exposed. With respect to the European powers that were not actually engaged as principals in the war, they seemed industriously to avoid every step that might be construed a deviation from the most scrupulous neutrality. The States-General proceeded with great circumspection, in the middle course between two powerful neighbours, equally jealous and formidable; and the King of Spain was gratified for his forbearance with a convention settled between him and the belligerent powers, implying, that his subjects should pursue their commerce at sea without molestation, provided they should not transport those articles of merchandise which were deemed contraband by all nations. The operations at sea during the course of this year, either in Europe or America, were far from being decisive or important. The commerce of Great-Britain sustained considerable damage from the activity and success of French privateers, of which a great number had been equipped in the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe. The Greenwich ship of war, mounted with fifty guns, and a

frigate

frigate of twenty, fell into the hands of the enemy, together with a very considerable number of trading vessels. On the other hand, the English cruizers and privateers acquitted themselves with equal vigilance and valour. The Duc d'Aquitaine, a large ship of fifty guns, was taken in the month of June by two British ships of war, after a severe engagement; and about the same time, the Aquilon, of nearly the same force, was driven ashore and destroyed near Brest by the Antelope, one of the British cruisers. A French frigate of twenty-six guns, called the Emeraude, was taken in the channel, after a warm engagement, by an English ship of inferior force, under the command of Captain Gilchrist, a gallant and alert officer, who, in the sequel, signalized himself on divers occasions, by very extraordinary acts of valour. All the sea-officers seemed to be animated with a noble emulation to distinguish themselves in the service of their country, and the spirit descended even to the captains of privateers, who, instead of imitating the former commanders of that class, in avoiding ships of force, and centering their whole attention in advantageous prizes, now encountered the armed ships of the enemy, and fought with the most obstinate valour in the pursuit of national glory.

§ XXVIII. Perhaps history cannot afford a more remarkable instance of desperate courage than that which was exerted in December of the preceding year, by the officers and crew of an English privateer, called the Terrible, under the command of Captain William Death, equipped with twenty-six carriage-guns, and manned with two hundred sailors. On the twenty-third day of the month he engaged and made prize of a large French ship from St. Domingo, after an obstinate battle, in which he lost his own brother and sixteen seamen: then he secured with forty men his prize, which contained a valuable cargo, and directed his course to England; but in a

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few days he had the misfortune to fall in with the Vengeance, a privateer of St. Maloes, carrying thirty-six large cannon, with a complement of three hundred and sixty men. Their first step was to attack the prize, which was easily re-taken; then the two ships bore down upon the Terrible, whose mainmast was shot away by the first broadside. Notwithstanding this disaster, the Terrible maintained such a furious engagement against both as can hardly be paralleled in the annals of Britain. The French commander and his second were killed, with two thirds of his company; but the gallant Captain Death, with the greater part of his officers, and almost his whole crew, having met with the same fate, his ship was boarded by the enemy, who found no more than twenty-six persons alive, sixteen of whom were mutilated by the loss of leg or arm, and the other ten grievously wounded. The ship itself was so shattered, that it could scarcely be kept above water, and the whole exhibited a scene of blood, horror, and desolation. The victor itself lay like a wreck on the surface; and in this condition made shift, with great difficulty, to tow the Terrible* into St. Maloes, where she was not beheld without astonishment and terror. This adventure was no sooner known in England, than a liberal subscription was raised for the support of Death's widow, and that part of the crew which survived the engagement. In this, and every sea-rencounter that happened within the present year, the superiority in skill and resolution was ascertained to the British mariners; for even when they fought against great odds, their courage was generally crowned with success. In the month of November Captain Lockhart, a young gentleman, who had already rendered himself a terror to the enemy,

* There was a strange combination of names belonging to this privateer; the Terrible, equipped at Execution-Dock, commanded by Captain Death, whose Lieutenant was called Devil, and who had one Ghost for Surgeon.

enemy as commander of a small frigate, now added considerably to his reputation, by reducing the Melampe, a French privateer of Bayonne, greatly superior to his own ship in number of men and weight of metal. This exploit was seconded by another of the same nature, in his conquest of another French adventurer, called the Countess of Gramont; and a third large privateer of Bayonne was taken by Captain Saumarez, commander of the Antelope. In a word, the narrow seas were so well guarded, that in a little time scarce a French ship durst appear in the English channel, which the British traders navigated without molestation.

§ XXIX. On the first day of December, the King of Great-Britain opened the session of Parliament with a speech from the throne, which seemed calculated to prepare the nation for the expence of maintaining a new war on the continent of Europe. His Majesty graciously declared, that it would have given him a most sensible pleasure to acquaint them at the opening of the session, that his success in carrying on the war had been equal to the justice of his cause, and the extent and vigour of the measures formed for that purpose. He expressed the firmest confidence, that the spirit and bravery of the nation, so renowned in all times, which had formerly surmounted so many difficulties, were not to be abated by a few disappointments, which he trusted, might be retrieved by the blessing of God, and the zeal and ardour of his Parliament for his Majesty's honour and the advantage of their country. He said it was his determined resolution to apply his utmost efforts for the security of his kingdoms, and for the recovery and protection of the possessions and rights of his crown and subjects in America, and elsewhere, as well by the strongest exertion of his naval force, as by all other methods. He signified, that another great object which he had at heart, was the preservation of the protestant religion, and the liberties of

 Europe;

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Europe; and, in that view, to encourage and adhere to his allies. For this cause, he assured them, he would decline no inconveniencies, and in this cause, he earnestly solicited their hearty concurrence and vigorous assistance. He observed, that the late signal success in Germany had given a happy turn to affairs, which it was incumbent on them to improve; and that, in such a critical conjuncture, the eyes of all Europe were upon them. He particularly recommended to them, that his good brother and ally the King of Prussia might be supported in such a manner as his magnanimity and active zeal for the common cause appeared to deserve. To the Commons he expressed his concern that the large supplies they had already granted did not produce all the good fruits they had reason to expect; but he had so great a reliance on their wisdom, as not to doubt of their perseverance. He only desired such supplies as should be necessary for the publick service, and told them they might depend upon it, that the best and most faithful œconomy should be used. He took notice of that spirit of disorder which had shown itself among the common people in some parts of the kingdom; he laid injunctions upon them to use their endeavours for discouraging and suppressing such abuses, and for maintaining the laws and lawful authority. He concluded with observing, that nothing would so effectually conduce to the defence of all that was dear to the nation, as well as to the reducing their enemies to reason, as union and harmony among themselves. The time was, when every paragraph of this harangue, which the reader will perceive is not remarkable for its elegance and propriety, would have been canvassed and impugned by the country party in the House of Commons. They would have imputed the bad success of the war to the indiscretion of the ministry, in taking preposterous measures, and appointing commanders unequal to the service.

They

They would have enquired in what manner the protestant religion was endangered; and, if it was, how it could be preserved or promoted by adhering to allies, who, without provocation, had well nigh ruined the first and principal protestant country of the Empire. They would have started doubts with respect to the late signal success in Germany, and hinted, that it would only serve to protract the burthen of a continental war. They would have owned that the eyes of all Europe were upon them, and drawn this consequence, that it therefore behoved them to act with the more delicacy and caution in discharge of the sacred trust reposed in them by their constituents: a trust which their consciences would not allow to be faithfully discharged, should they rush precipitately into the destructive measures of a rash and prodigal ministry, squander away the wealth of the nation, and add to the grievous incumbrances under which it groaned, in support of connections and alliances that were equally foreign to her consideration, and pernicious to her interest. They would have investigated that cause which was so warmly recommended for support, and pretended to discover that it was a cause in which Great-Britain ought to have had no concern, because it produced a certainty of loss without the least prospect of advantage They would have varied essentially in their opinions of the necessary supplies, from the sentiments of those who prepared the estimates, and even declared some doubts about the œconomy to be used in managing the national expence; finally, they would have represented the impossibility of union between the two parties, one of which seemed bent upon reducing the other to beggary and contempt. Such was the strain that used to flow from an opposition, said to consist of disloyalty and disappointed ambition. But that malignant spirit was now happily extinguished. The voice of the Sovereign was adored as the oracle of a divinity, and those

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An. 1758. § XXX. To the speech of his Majesty the House of Lords returned an address, in such terms of complacency as had long distinguished that illustrious assembly. The Commons expressed their approbation and confidence with equal ardour, and not one objection was made to the form or nature of the address, though one gentleman, equally independent in his mind and fortune, took exceptions to some of the measures which had been lately pursued. Their complaisance was more substantially specified in the resolutions of the House, as soon as the two great committees of supply were appointed. They granted for the sea-service of the ensuing year sixty thousand men, including fourteen thousand eight hundred and forty-five marines, and the standing army, comprehending four thousand invalids, was fixed at fifty-three thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven effective men, commission and non-commission officers included. For the maintenance of these forces, by sea and land, the charge of guards and garrisons, at home and abroad, the expence of the ordnance, and in order to make good the sum which had been issued by his Majesty's orders, in pursuance of the address from the Commons, they now allotted four millions, twenty-two thousand, eight hundred and seven pounds, seven shillings, and three pence. They unanimously granted, as a present supply in the then critical exigency, towards enabling his Majesty to maintain and keep together the army formed last year in his electoral dominions, and then again put in motion, and actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the King of Prussia, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds: for the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to the sea-officers, they allowed two hundred twenty-four

four thousand, four hundred twenty-one pounds, five shillings, and eight pence: towards the building and support of the three hospitals for seamen at Gosport, Plymouth, and Greenwich, thirty thousand pounds: for the reduced officers of the land-forces and marines, pensions to the widows of officers, and other such military contingencies, forty thousand nine hundred and twenty-six pounds, seventeen shillings and eleven pence: towards building, re-building, and repairs of his Majesty's ships for the ensuing year, the sum of two hundred thousand pounds; for defraying the charge of two thousand one hundred and twenty horse, and nine thousand nine hundred infantry, together with the general and staff officers, the officers of the hospital and the train of artillery, being the troops of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel in the pay of Great-Britain, for sixty days, together with the subsidy for the said time, pursuant to treaty, they assigned thirty-eight thousand three hundred and sixty pounds, nineteen shillings and ten pence three farthings. To the foundling hospital they gave forty thousand pounds, for the maintenance and education of deserted young children, as well as for the reception of all such as should be presented under a certain age, to be limited by the governors and guardians of that charity. Three hundred thousand pounds were given towards discharging the debt of the navy, and two hundred eighty-four thousand eight hundred and two pounds for making up the deficiency of the grants for the service of the preceding year. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was, moreover, gratified with the further sum of two hundred and three thousand five hundred and thirty-six pounds, four shillings and nine pence farthing, for the maintenance of his forces, and the remainder of his subsidy. They granted six hundred and seventy thousand pounds for enabling his Majesty to make good his engagements with the King of Prussia, pursuant to a convention lately concluded with that potentate.

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tentate. For defraying the charge of thirty-eight thousand men of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttel, Saxe-Gotha, and the Count of Buckebourg, together with that of general and staff-officers actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the King of Prussia, from the twenty-eighth day of November in the last, to the twenty-fourth of December in the present year inclusive, to be issued in advance every two months, they alloted the sum of four hundred and sixty-three thousand eighty-four pounds, six shillings and ten pence; and furthermore they granted three hundred eighty-six thousand, nine hundred and fifteen pounds, thirteen shillings and two pence, to defray the charges of forage, bread-waggons, train of artillery, provisions, wood, straw, and all other extraordinary expences, contingencies and losses whatsoever, incurred, or to be incurred, on account of his Majesty's army, consisting of thirty-eight thousand men, actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the King of Prussia, from November last to next December inclusive. For the extraordinary expences of the land-forces, and other services, incurred in the course of the last year, and not provided for by Parliament, they allowed one hundred forty-five thousand, four hundred fifty-four pounds, fifteen shillings and one farthing. They provided eight hundred thousand pounds to enable his Majesty to defray the like sum raised in pursuance of an act made in the last session of Parliament, and charged upon the first aids and supplies to be granted in the current session. Twenty-six thousand pounds were bestowed on the out-pensioners of Chelsea-hospital; above twenty thousand for the expence of maintaining the colonies of Nova-Scotia and Georgia; for reimbursing to the province of Massachuset's-Bay, and the colony of Connecticut, their expence in furnishing provisions and stores to the troops raised by them, for his Majesty's service, in the campaign of

of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, the sum of forty-one thousand, one hundred, seventeen pounds, seventeen shillings and six pence halfpenny; to be applied towards the re-building of London-bridge, carrying on the works for fortifying and securing the harbour of Milford, and repairing the parish church of St. Margaret, in Westminster, they alloted twenty-nine thousand pounds. The East-India company were indulged with twenty thousand pounds on account, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their settlements, to be maintained by them in lieu of the battalion of his Majesty's forces withdrawn from those settlements: the sum of ten thousand pounds was given, as usual, for maintaining and supporting the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa; and eleven thousand four hundred and fifty were granted as an augmentation to the salaries of the judges in the superior courts of judicature. They likewise provided one hundred thousand pounds for defraying the charge of pay and clothing to the militia, and advanced eight hundred thousand pounds, to enable his Majesty to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred or to be incurred, for the service of the current year; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of his affairs might require. The whole supplies of this session amounted to the enormous sum of ten millions, four hundred eighty-six thousand four hundred fifty-seven pounds, and one penny. Nothing could so plainly demonstrate the implicit confidence which the Parliament, at this juncture, reposed in the Sovereign and the ministry, as their conduct in granting such liberal supplies, great part of which were bestowed in favour of our German allies, whom the British nation thus generously paid for fighting their own battles. Besides the sum of one million, eight hundred sixty-one thousand, eight hundred

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hundred ninety-seven pounds, four shillings and eight pence, expressly assigned for the support of these continental connections, a sum considerably exceeding the whole of the revenue raised in the reign of Charles the Second, and what part of the sum granted to the King for extraordinary expences might be applied to the same use, the article might not improperly be swelled with the vast expence incurred by expeditions to the coast of France; the chief, if not sole, design of which seemed to be a diversion in favour of the nation's allies in Germany, by preventing France from sending such numerous armies into that country as it could have spared, had not its sea-coasts required a considerable body of forces for its defence against the attempts of the English. Indeed the partisans of the ministry were at great pains to suggest and inculcate a belief, that the war in Germany was chiefly supported as a necessary diversion in favour of Great-Britain and her plantations, which would have been exposed to insult and invasion, had not the enemy's forces been otherwise employed. But the absurdity of this notion will at once appear to those who consider, that by this time Great-Britain was sole mistress of the sea; that the navy of France was almost ruined, and her commerce on the ocean quite extinguished; that she could not, with the least prospect of success, hazard any expedition of consequence against Great-Britain, or any part of her dominions, while the ocean was covered with such powerful navies belonging to that nation; and that if one third part of the money, annually ingulfed in the German vortex, had been employed in augmenting the naval forces of England, and those forces properly exerted, not a single cruiser would have been able to stir from the harbours of France; all her colonies in the West-Indies would have fallen an easy prey to the arms of Great-Britain; and, thus cut

cut off from the resources of commerce, she must have been content to embrace such terms of peace as the victor should have thought proper to prescribe.

§ XXXI. The funds established by the committee of ways and means, in order to realise those articles of supply, consisted of the malt-tax, the land-tax, at four shillings in the pound, sums remaining in the Exchequer, produced from the sinking-fund, four millions five hundred thousand pounds to be raised by annuities, at three pounds ten shillings per cent. per ann. and five hundred thousand pounds by a lottery, attended with annuities redeemable by Parliament, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per ann. these several annuities to be transferable at the Bank of England, and charged upon a fund to be established in this session of Parliament for payment thereof, and for which the sinking-fund should be a collaterial security*—one million, six hundred and

* It was enacted, That every person subscribing for five hundred pounds should be entitled to four hundred and fifty in annuities, and fifty pounds in lottery tickets, and so in proportion for a greater or less sum; that the lottery should consist of tickets of the value of ten pounds each, in the proportion not exceeding eight blanks to a prize; the blanks to be of the value of six pounds each; the blanks and prizes to bear an interest after the rate of three pounds per cent. to commence from the first day of January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine; and that the sum of four millions, five hundred thousand pounds, to be raised by annuities, should bear an interest after the rate of three pounds ten shilllngs per cent. from the fifth day of July, in the present year; which annuities should stand reduced to three pounds per cent. after the expiration of twenty-four years, and afterwards be redeemable in the whole, or in part, by sums not less than five hundred thousand pounds, at one time, six months notice having been first given of such payments respectively; that any subscriber might, on or before the twenty-ninth day of April, make a deposit of ten pounds per cent. on such sum as he should choose to subscribe towards raising these five millions, with the cashiers of the Bank, as a security for his future payments on the days appointed for that purpose; that the several sums so received by the cashiers should be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, to be applied from time to time to such services as should then have been voted by the House of Commons in this session of Parliament, and not otherwise; that any subscriber paying the whole or any part of his subscription previous to the days appointed for the respective payments, should be allowed a discount, at the rate of three per cent. from the days of such respective payments to the respective times on which

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and six thousand and seventy-six pounds; five shillings, one penny, one farthing, issued and applied out of such monies as should or might arise from the surplusses, excesses, and other revenues composing the sinking fund—a tax of one shilling in the pound to be annually paid from all salaries, fees, and perquisites of offices and employments in Great-Britain, and from all pensions and other gratuities payable out of any revenues belonging to his Majesty in Great-Britain, exceeding the yearly value of one hundred pounds—an imposition of one shilling annually upon every dwelling house inhabited within the kingdom of Great-Britain, over and above all other duties already chargeable upon them, to commence from the fifth day of April—an additional tax of six pence yearly for every window or light in every dwelling-house inhabited in Britain which shall contain fifteen windows or upwards; a continuation of certain acts near expiring, with respect to the duties payable on foreign sail cloth imported into Great-Britain, the exportation of British gunpowder, the securing and encouraging the trade of his Majesty's sugar colonies in America, and the empowering the importers and proprietors of spirits from the British sugar plantations to land them before payment of the duties of excise, and to lodge them in warehouses at their own expence—an annual tax of forty shillings for a licence to be taken out by every person trading in, selling, or vending gold or silver plate, in lieu of the duty of sixpence per ounce on all silver plate, made or wrought, or which ought to be touched, essayed, or marked in this kingdom, which duty now ceased and determined—a cessation of all drawbacks payable on the exportation of silver plate—a law prohibiting all persons from selling, by retail, any sweet or

which such payments were directed to be made, and that all persons who should make their full payments on the said lottery, should receive their tickets as soon as they could be conveniently made out.

made wines, without having first procured a licence for that purpose—and a loan by Exchequer bills for eight hundred thousand pounds, to be charged on the first aids to be granted in the next session of Parliament. These provisions amounted to the sum of eleven millions, seventy-nine thousand, seven hundred and twenty-two pounds, six shillings, and ten pence, exceeding the grants in the sum of five hundred ninety-three thousand, two hundred and sixty-five pounds, six shillings and nine pence, so that the nation had reason to hope that this surplus of above half a million would prevent any demand for deficiencies in the next session. By these copious grants of the House of Commons, whose complaisance knew no bounds, the national debt was, at this juncture, swelled to the astonishing sum of eighty-seven millions, three hundred and sixty-seven thousand, two hundred and ten pounds, nineteen shillings, and ten pence farthing; a load that would have crushed the national credit of any other state in Christendom.

§ XXXII. The liberality of the Parliament was like the rock in the wilderness, which flowed with the welcome stream when touched by the rod of Moses. The present supply which the Commons granted for the subsistence of the Hanoverian army was, in pursuance of a message from his Majesty, communicated to the House by Mr. Secretary Pitt, signifying, That the King had ordered his electoral army to be put again in motion, that it might act with vigour against the common enemy, in concert with his good brother and ally, the King of Prussia; that the exhausted and ruined state of the electorate having rendered it incapable of maintaining that army, until the further necessary charge thereof, as well as the more particular measures then concerting for the effectual support of his Prussian Majesty, could be laid before the House, the King, relying on the constant zeal of his faithful Commons for the support of the Protestant religion, and of the liberties

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liberties of Europe against the dangerous designs of France and her confederates, found himself, in the mean time, under the absolute necessity of recommending to the House the speedy consideration of such a present supply as might enable his Majesty, in this critical conjuncture, to subsist and keep together the said army. This address was no sooner recited by the Speaker, than it was unanimously referred to the Committee of Supply, who gratified his Majesty's wish with an immediate resolution; and, considering their generous disposition, doubtless the same compliance would have appeared, even though no mention had been made of the Protestant religion, which, to men of ordinary penetration, appeared to have no natural concern in the present dispute between the belligerent powers, although former ministers had often violently introduced it into messages and speeches from the throne, in order to dazzle the eyes of the populace, even while they insulted the understanding of those who were capable of exercising their own reason. This pretext was worn so threadbare, that, among the sensible part of mankind, it could no longer be used without incurring contempt and ridicule. In order to persuade mankind that the Protestant religion was in danger, it would have been necessary to specify the designs that were formed against it, as well as the nature of the conspiracy, and to descend to particulars, properly authenticated. In that case, great part of Europe would have been justly alarmed. The States-General of the United Provinces, who have made such glorious and indefatigable efforts in support of the Protestant religion, would surely have lent an helping hand towards its preservation. The Danes would not have stood tamely neutral, and seen the religion they profess exposed to the rage of such a powerful confederacy. It is not to be imagined that the Swedes, who have so zealously maintained the purity of the Protestant faith, would now join

join an association whose aim was the ruin of that religion. It is not credible that even the Hungarians, who profess the same faith, and other Protestant States of the Empire, would enter so heartily into the interests of those who were bent upon its destruction; or that the Russians would contribute to the aggrandisement of the Catholick faith and discipline, so opposite to that of the Greek church, which they espouse. As, therefore, no particular of such a design was explained, no act of oppression towards any Protestant State or Society pointed out, except those that were exercised by the Protestants themselves; and as the court of Vienna repeatedly disavowed any such design, in the most solemn manner, the unprejudiced part of mankind will be apt to conclude that the cry of religion was used, as in former times, to arouse, alarm, and inflame; nor did the artifice prove altogether unsuccessful. Notwithstanding the general lukewarmth of the age in matters of religion, it produced considerable effect among the fanatick sectaries that swarm through the kingdom of England. The leaders of those blind enthusiasts, either actuated by the spirit of delusion, or desirous of recommending themselves to the protection of the higher powers, immediately seized the hint, expatiating vehemently on the danger that impended over God's people; and exerting all their faculties to impress the belief of a religious war, which never fails to exasperate and impel the minds of men to such deeds of cruelty and revenge as must discredit all religion, and even disgrace humanity. The signal trust and confidence which the Parliament of England reposed in the King, at this juncture, was in nothing more conspicuous than in leaving to the Crown the unlimited application of the sum granted for augmenting the salaries of the judges. In the reign of King William, when the act of settlement was passed, the Parliament, jealous of the influence which the Crown

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might acquire over the judges, provided, by an express clause of that act, that the commissions of the Judges should subsist *quam diu se bene gesserint*, and that their salaries should be established: but now we find a sum of money granted for the augmentation of their salaries, and the Crown vested with a discretionary power to proportion and apply this augmentation: a stretch of complaisance, which how safe soever it may appear during the reign of a Prince famed for integrity and moderation, will perhaps one day be considered as a very dangerous accession to the prerogative.

§ XXXIII. So fully persuaded were the ministry, that the Commons would chearfully enable them to pay what subsidies they might promise to their German allies, that on the eleventh of April they concluded a new treaty of convention with his Prussian Majesty, which, that it might have the firmer consistence, and the greater authority, was, on the part of Great-Britain, transacted and signed by almost all the privy counsellors who had any share in the administration *. This treaty, which was signed at Westminster, imported, "That the contracting powers having mutually resolved to continue their efforts for their reciprocal defence and security, for the recovery of their possessions, the protection of their allies, and the support of the liberties of the Germanick body, his Britannick Majesty had, from these considerations, determined to grant to his Prussian Majesty an immediate succour in money, as being the most ready and the most efficacious; and their Majesty's having judged it proper that

* These were, Sir Robert Henley, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; John, Earl of Granville, President of the Council; Thomas Holles, Duke of Newcastle, First Commissioner of the Treasury; Robert Earl of Holderness, one of the principal Secretaries of State; Philip, Earl of Hardwicke; and William Pitt, Esq. another of the principal Secretaries of State. In the name and on the part of his Prussian Majesty, the Sieurs Dado Henry, Baron of Knyphausen, his Privy Counsellor of Embassy, and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of London; and Louis Michel, his Resident and Charge d 'Affaires.

thereupon

thereupon a convention should be made, for declaring and fixing their intentions upon this head, they had nominated and authorised their respective ministers, who, after having communicated their full powers to one another, agreed to the following stipulations:—The King of Great-Britain engaged to pay in the city of London, to such persons as should be authorised to receive it by his Prussian Majesty, the sum of four millions of German Crowns, amounting to six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling, to be paid at once, and in one whole sum, immediately after the exchange of ratifications, upon being demanded by his Prussian Majesty. This Prince, on his part, obliged himself to apply that sum to the maintaining and augmenting his forces, which should act in the best manner for the good of the common cause, and for the purpose of reciprocal defence and mutual security, proposed by their said Majesties. Moreover the high contracting parties engaged not to conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, nor any other sort of convention or agreement, with the powers engaged in the present war, but in concert and by mutual agreement, wherein both should be nominally comprehended. Finally, it was stipulated that this convention should be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged on both sides, within the term of six weeks, to be computed from the day of signing this present convention, or sooner, if possible."

§ XXXIV. All the resolutions to which the committee of ways and means agreed were executed by bills, or clauses in bills, which afterwards received the royal sanction. The militia still continued to be an object of parliamentary care and attention: but the institution was not yet heartily embraced, because seemingly discountenanced by the remnant of the old ministry, which still maintained a capital place in the late coalition, and indeed almost wholly engrossed the distribution of pensions and places.

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The Commons having presented an address to his Majesty, with respect to the harbour of Milford-haven, a book of plans and estimates for fortifying that harbour was laid before the House, and a committee appointed to examine the particulars. They were of opinion that the mouth of the harbour was too wide to admit of any fortification, or effectual defence; but that the passage called Nailand-point, lying higher than Hubberstone-road, might be fortified, so as to afford safe riding and protection to the trade and navy of Great-Britain: that, if it should be thought proper hereafter to establish a yard and dock for building and equipping fleets at Milford, no place could, from the situation, nature, soil, and a general concurrence of all necessary local circumstances, be more fitted for such a design; that if a proper use were made of this valuable though long-neglected harbour, the distressful delays too often embarrassing and disappointing the nation in her naval operations, might be, in a great measure happily removed, to the infinite relief and enlargement of the kingdom in the means of improving its naval force; the necessary progress and free execution of which was now so unhappily and frequently restrained and frustrated, by the want of a harbour like that of Milford-haven, framed by nature with such local advantages. This report appeared to be so well supported by evidence, that a bill was framed, and passed into an act, for granting ten thousand pounds towards carrying on the works for fortifying and securing the harbour of Milford in the county of Pembroke. Other laws of national consequence were enacted, in the course of this session, with little or no opposition. On the very first day of their sitting, the Commons received a petition from the mayor, magistrates, merchants, and inhabitants of Liverpool, complaining of the high price of wheat, and other grain; expressing their apprehension that it would conti-

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nue to rise, unless the time for the importation of foreign corn, duty-free, should be prolonged, or some other salutary measure taken by Parliament, to prevent dealers from engrossing corn; submitting to the wisdom of the House a total prohibition of distilling and exporting grain while the high price should continue; praying they would take the premises into consideration, and grant a seasonable relief to the petitioners, by a continuance of a free importation, and taking such other effectual means to reduce the growing price of corn as to them should seem necessary and expedient. This being an urgent case, that equally interested the humanity of the legislature and the manufactures of the kingdom, it was deliberated upon, and discussed with remarkable dispatch. In a few days a bill was prepared, passed through both Houses, and enacted into a law, continuiug till the twenty-fourth day of December, in the present year, the three acts of last session; for prohibiting the exportation of corn; for prohibiting the distillation of spirits; and for allowing the importation of corn, duty-free. A second law was established, regulating the price and assize of bread, and subjecting to severe penalties those who should be concerned in its adulteration. In consequeuce of certain resolutions taken in a committee of the whole House, a bill was presented for prohibiting the payment of the bounty upon the exportation of corn, unless sold at a lower price than is allowed in an act passed in the first year of the reign of William and Mary: but this bill, after having been read a second time, and committed, was neglected, and proved abortive.

§ XXXV. In consequence of a motion made by Mr. Grenville, a humane bill was prepared and brought in for the encouragement of seamen employed in the Royal navy, establishing a regular method for the punctual, frequent, and certain payment of their wages; enabling them more easily

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and readily to remit money for the support of their wives and families, and preventing the frauds and abuses attending such payments. This bill, having passed the Lower House, engaged in a very particular manner the attention of the Lords, who, by divers messages to the House of Commons, desired the attendance of several members. These messages being taken into consideration, several precedents were recited: a debate arose about their formality, and the House unanimously resolved that a message should be sent to the Lords, acquainting them that the House of Commons, not being sufficiently informed by their messages upon what grounds, or for what purposes, their Lordships desired the House would give leave to such of their members as were named in the said messages to attend the House of Lords, in order to be examined upon the second reading of the bill, the Commons hoped their Lordships would make them acquainted with their intention. The Lords, in answer to this intimation, gave the Commons to understand, that they desired the attendance of the members mentioned in their messages, that they might be examined as witnesses upon the second reading of the bill. This explanation being deemed satisfactory, the members attended the House of Lords, where they were carefully and fully examined, as persons conversant in sea-affairs, touching the inconveniencies which had formerly attended the sea-service, as well as the remedies now proposed: and the bill having passed through their House, though not without warm opposition, was enacted into a law by his Majesty's assent. The militia-act, as it passed in the last session, being found upon trial defective, Mr. Townshend moved for leave to bring in a new bill, to explain, amend, and enforce it: this was accordingly allowed, prepared, and passed into a law; though it did not seem altogether free from material objections, some of which were of an alarming nature.

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The power vested by law in the Crown over the militia, is even more independent than that which it exercises over the standing army; for this last expires at the end of the year, if not continued by a new act of Parliament; whereas the militia is subjected to the power of the Crown for the term of five years, during which it may be called out into actual service without consent of Parliament, and consequently employed for sinister purposes. A commission-officer in the militia may be detained, as subject to the articles of war, until the Crown shall allow the militia to return to their respective parishes; and thus engaged, he is liable to death as a mutineer, or deserter, should he refuse to appear in arms, and fight in support of the worst measures of the worst minister. Several merchants and manufacturers of silk offered a petition, representing, that in consequence of the act passed in the last session, allowing the importation of fine organzine Italian thrown silk till the first day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, they had given orders to their correspondents abroad to send large quantities of such silk through Germany to Hamburgh and Holland, which, in the common course of things might probably have arrived in London before the act expired, if their carriage had not been protracted by the great rains and inundations in Italy and Germany, in the months of August and September last, which rendered the roads for many weeks impassable: that from unlucky accidents on shore, and storms and contrary winds after the silk was shipped, it could not possibly arrive within the time limited by the act; and unless it should be admitted to an entry, they, the petitioners, would be great sufferers, the manufactures greatly prejudiced, and the good end and purpose of the act in a great measure frustrated: they therefore prayed leave to bring in a bill for allowing the introduction of all such fine Italian organzined silk as should

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appear to have been shipped in Holland and Hamburgh for London, on or before the first day of December. The petition being referred to a committee, which reported that these allegations were true, the House complied with their request, and the bill having passed, was enacted into a law in the usual form. A speedy passage was likewise granted to the mutiny-bill, and the other annual measure for regulating the marine forces, which contained nothing new or extraordinary. A committee being appointed to enquire what laws were already expired, or near expiring, they performed this difficult task with indefatigable patience and perseverance; and, in pursuance of their resolutions, three bills were prepared and passed into laws, continuing some acts for a certain time, and rendering others perpetual*.

* Among those rendered perpetual, we find an act of the 13th and 14th of Charles II. for preventing theft and rapine. An act of the 9th of George I. for punishing persons going armed in disguise. A clause in the act of the sixth of George II. to prevent the breaking down the bank of any river; and another clause in the said act, to prevent the treacherous cutting of hop-binds. Several clauses in an act of the 10th of George II. for punishing persons setting on fire any mine, &c. The temporary part of the act of the 20th of George II. for taking away the hereditary jurisdictions of Scotland, relating to the power of appealing to circuit courts Those continued were, I. An act of the 12th George II. for granting liberty to carry sugars, &c. until the twenty-ninth September, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four, and to the end of the next session of Parliament. II. An act of the 5th of George II. to prevent frauds by bankrupts, &c. for the same period. III. An act of the 8th of George II. for encouraging the importation of naval stores, &c. for the same period. IV. An act of the 19th of George II. for preventing frauds in the admeasurement of coals, &c. until June 24, 1759; and to this was added, a perpetual clause for preventing the stealing or destroying of madder roots. V. An act of the 9th of George II. for encouraging the manufacture of British sail-cloth until the twenty-ninth of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four. VI. An act of the 4th of George II. granting an allowance upon British-made gunpowder, for the same period. VII. An act of the 6th of George II. for encouraging the trade of the sugar colonies, until the twenty-ninth of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one. And, VIII. so much of the Act of the 15th and 16th of George II. to empower the importers of rum, &c. as relates to landing it before the payment of duties, until the 29th of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four

§ XXXVI.

§ XXXVI. The Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in common-council assembled, having drawn up a petition to the House of Commons, alledging that the toll upon loaded vessels or other craft, passing through the arches of London-bridge, granted by a former act, passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty, for improving, widening, and enlarging the passage both under and over the said bridge, was altogether precarious and insufficient to defray the expence, including that of a temporary wooden bridge already erected; and praying that a bill might be prepared, for explaining and rendering that act effectual; a committee was appointed to examine the contents, and a bill brought in according to their request. This, however, was opposed by a petition from several persons, owners of barges, and other craft navigating the river Thames, who affirmed, that if the bill should pass into a law as it then stood, it would be extremely injurious to the petitioners in particular, and to the publick in general. These were heard by their counsel before the committee, but no report was yet given, when the temporary bridge was reduced to ashes. Then the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of London, presented another petition, alledging, that, in pursuance of the powers vested in them by act of parliament, they had already demolished a good number of the houses on London-bridge, and directed the rest that were standing to be taken down with all convenient expedition, that two of the arches might be laid into one for the improvement of the navigation; that they had, at a very great expence, erected a temporary wooden bridge, to preserve a publick passage to and from the city, until the great arch should be finished, which temporary bridge being consumed by fire, they must rebuild it with the greatest expedition, at a further considerable expence; that the sum necessary for carrying on and completing this great and

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and useful work, including the rebuilding of the said temporary bridge, was estimated at fourscore thousand pounds; and as the improving, widening, and enlarging London-bridge, was calculated for the general good of the publick, for the advancement of trade and commerce, and for making the navigation upon the river Thames more safe and secure; they, therefore, prayed the House to take the premises into consideration. This petition being recommended by his Majesty to the consideration of the House, was referred to the Committee of Supply, and produced the resolution of granting fifteen thousand pounds towards the rebuilding of London-bridge. A bill was prepared, under the title of an act to improve, widen, and enlarge the passage over and through London-bridge, enforcing the payment of the toll imposed upon loaded vessels, which had been found extremely burthensome to trade; but this incumbrance was prevented by another petition of several merchants, tradesmen, and other inhabitants of the borough of Southwark, taking notice of the fifteen thousand pounds granted towards the repair of London-bridge, and, as they were informed, intended to make the said bridge free for all his Majesty's subjects: they said they hoped to partake of this publick bounty; but afterwards hearing that the bill then depending was confined to the tolls formerly granted for repairing the said bridge, they represented the hardships which they and all traders would continue to labour under; they alledged, that the surveyors and workmen, then employed upon this work, had discovered the true principles on which the bridge was built; that the foundation of the piers consisted of hard durable stone, well cemented together, and now as strong and firm as when first built; that when the bridge should be finished, great savings would be made in keeping it in repair, from the sums formerly expended, on a mistaken opinion, that the foundation

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was of wood: that there were very considerable estates appointed solely for the repairs of the bridge, which, they apprehended, would be sufficient to maintain it without any toll; or if they should not be thought adequate to that purpose, they hoped the deficiency would not be made up by a toll upon trade and commerce, but rather by an imposition on coaches, chariots, chaises, and saddle-horses. This remonstrance made no impression on the House. The bill being, on a motion of Sir John Philips, read a third time, passed through both Houses, and obtained the royal assent.

§ XXXVII. The interest of the manufactures was also consulted in an act encouraging the growth of madder, a plant essentially necessary in dying and printing callicoes, which may be raised in England without the least inconvenience. It was judged, upon enquiry, that the most effectual means to encourage the growth of this commodity would be to ascertain the tithe of it; and a bill was brought in for that purpose. The rate of the tithe was established at five shillings an acre; and it was enacted, that this law should continue in force for fourteen years, and to the end of the next session of Parliament; but wherefore this encouragement was made temporary it is not easy to determine. The laws relating to the poor, though equally numerous and oppressive to the subject, having been found defective, a new clause, relating to the settlement of servants and apprentices, was now added to an act passed in the twentieth year of the present reign, intituled, "An act for the better adjusting and more easily recovering of the wages of certain servants, and of certain apprentices." No country in the universe can produce so many laws made in behalf of the poor as those that are daily accumulating in England: in no other country is there so much money raised for their support, by private charity, as well as publick taxation; yet this, as much as any country swarms

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swarms with vagrant beggars, and teems with objects of misery and distress; a sure sign either of misconduct in the legislature, or a shameful relaxation in the executive part of the civil administration.—The scenes of corruption, perjury, riot, and intemperance which every election for a member of Parliament had lately produced, were now grown so infamously open and intolerable, and the right of voting was rendered so obscure and perplexed by the pretensions and proceedings of all the candidates for Oxfordshire in the last election, that the fundamentals of the constitution seemed to shake, and the very essence of Parliaments to be in danger. Actuated by these apprehensions, Sir John Philips, a gentleman of Wales, who had long distinguished himself in the opposition, by his courage and independent spirit, moved for leave to bring in a bill that should obviate any doubts which might arise concerning the electors of knights of the shire to serve in Parliament for England, and further regulate the proceedings of such elections. He was accordingly permitted to bring in such a bill, in conjunction with Mr. Townsend, Mr. Cornwall, and Lords North and Carysfort; and in the usual course, the bill being prepared, was enacted into a law, under the title of, "An act for further explaining the laws touching the election of knights of the shire to serve in Parliament for that part of Great-Britain called England." The preamble specified, That though, by an act passed in the eighteenth year of the present reign, it was provided, that no person might vote at the election of a knight or knights of a shire within England and Wales, without having a freehold estate, in the county for which he votes, of the clear yearly value of forty shillings, over and above all rents and charges, payable out of or in respect to the same; nevertheless, certain persons, who hold their estates by copy of court-roll, pretend to a right of voting, and have, at certain times,

times, presumed to vote at such elections: this act, therefore, ordained, that from and after the twenty-ninth day of June, the present year, no person who holds his estate by copy of court-roll should be intitled thereby to vote at the election of any knight or knights of a shire within England or Wales; but every such vote should be void, and the person so voting should forfeit fifty pounds to any candidate for whom such vote should not have been given, and who should first sue for the same, to be recovered with full costs, by action of debt, in any court of judicature*. So far the act, thus procured, may be attended with salutary consequences: but, in all probability, the intention of its first movers and patrons was not fully answered; inasmuch as no provision was made for putting a stop to that spirit of licentiousness, drunkenness, and debauchery, which prevails at almost every election, and has a very pernicious effect upon the morals of the people.

§ XXXVIII. Among the bills that miscarried in the course of this session, some turned on points of great consequence to the community. Lord Barrington, Mr. Thomas Gore, and Mr. Charles Townshend, were ordered by the House to prepare a bill for the speedy and effectual recruiting his Majesty's land forces and marines, which was no more than a transcript of the temporary act passed in the preceding session under the same title; but the majority

* For the more easy recovery of this forfeit, it was enacted, That the plaintiff in such action might only set forth, in the declaration or bill, that the defendant was indebted to him in the sum of fifty pounds, alledging the offence for which the suit should be brought, and that the defendant had acted contrary to this act, without mentioning the writ of summons to parliament, or the return thereof; and, upon trial of any issue, the plaintiff should not be obliged to prove the writ of summons to Parliament, or the return thereof, or any warrant or authority to the sheriff upon any such writ: that every such action should be commenced within nine months after the fact committed; and that, if the plaintiff should discontinue his action, or be nonsuited, or have judgement given against him, the defandant should recover treble costs.

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jority were averse to its being continued for another year, as it was attended with some prejudice to the liberty of the subject. Objections of the same nature might have been as justly started against another bill, for the more effectually manning of his Majesty's navy, for preventing desertion, and for the relief and encouragement of seamen belonging to ships and vessels in the service of the merchants. The purport of this project was to establish registers or muster-rolls of all seamen, fishermen, lightermen, and watermen; obliging ship-masters to leave subscribed lists of their respective crews at offices maintained for that purpose, that a certain number of them might be chosen by lot for his Majesty's service, in any case of emergency. This expedient, however, was rejected, as an unnecessary and ineffectual incumbrance on commerce, which would hamper navigation, and, in a little time, diminish the number of seamen, of consequence act diametrically opposite to the purpose for which it was contrived. —Numberless frauds having been committed, and incessant law-suits produced, by private and clandestine conveyances, a motion was made, and leave given, to form a bill for the publick registering of all deeds, conveyances, wills, and other incumbrances, that might affect any honours, manours, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, within the kingdom of England, wherein publick registers were not already appointed by act of Paliament: but this measure, so necessary to the ascertainment and possession of property, met with a violent opposition; and was finally dropped, as some people imagine, through the influence of those who, perhaps, had particular reasons for countenancing the present mysterious forms of conveyancing. Such a bill must also have been disagreeable and mortifying to the pride of those landholders whose estates are encumbered, because, in consequence of such a register, every mortgage under which they

laboured would be exactly known.—The next object to which the House converted its attention, was a bill explaining and amending a late act for establishing a fish-market in the city of Westminster, and preventing scandalous monopolies of a few engrossing fishmongers, who imposed exorbitant prices on their fish, and in this particular branch of traffick, gave law to above six hundred thousand of their fellow-citizens. Abundance of pains was taken to render this bill effectual, for putting an end to such flagrant imposition. Enquiries were made, petitions read, counsel heard, and alterations proposed: at length the bill, having passed through the Lower House, was conveyed to the Lords, among whom it was suffered to expire, on pretence that there was not time sufficient to deliberate maturely on the subject.

§ XXXIX. The occasion that produced the next bill which miscarried we shall explain, as an incident equally extraordinary and interesting. By an act passed in the preceding session, for recruiting his Majesty's land-forces and marines, we have already observed, that the commissioners thereby appointed were vested with a power of judging ultimately, whether the persons brought before them were such as ought, by the rules prescribed in the act, to be impressed into the service: for it was expressly provided, that no person, so impressed by those commissioners, should be taken out of his Majesty's service by any process, other than for some criminal accusation. During the recess of Parliament, a gentlemen having been impressed before the commissioners, and confined in the Savoy, his friends made application for a habeas-corpus, which produced some hesitation, and indeed an insurmountable difficulty: for, according to the writ of habeas-corpus, passed in the reign of Charles the Second, this privilege relates only to persons committed for criminal or supposed criminal matters, and the gentleman

tleman did not stand in that predicament. Before the question could be determined he was discharged, in consequence of an application to the Secretary at War; but the nature of the case plainly pointed out a defect in the act, seemingly of the most dangerous consequence to the liberty of the subject. In order to remedy this defect, a bill for giving a more speedy relief to the subject, upon the writ of habeas-corpus, was prepared, and presented to the House of Commons, which formed itself into a committee, and made several amendments. It imported, that the several provisions made in the aforesaid act, passed in the reign of Charles II. for the awarding of writs of habeas-corpus, in cases of commitment or detainer, for any criminal or supposed criminal matter, should, in like manner, extend to all cases where any person, not being committed or detained for any criminal or supposed criminal matter, should be confined, or restrained of his or her liberty, under any colour or pretence whatsoever: that, upon oath made by such person so confined or restrained, or by any other on his or her behalf, of any actual confinement or restraint, and that such confinement or restraint, to the best of the knowledge and belief of the person so applying, was not by virtue of any commitment or detainer for any criminal or supposed criminal matter, an habeas-corpus, directed to the person or persons so confining or restraining the party, as aforesaid, should be awarded and granted, in the same manner as is directed, and under the same penalties as are provided by the said act, in the case of persons committed and detained for any criminal or supposed criminal matter: that the person or persons before whom the party so confined or restrained should be brought, by virtue of any habeas-corpus granted in the vacation-time, under the authority of this act, might and should, within three days after the return made, proceed to examine into the facts contained in such return, and into the cause

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of such confinement and restraint: and thereupon either discharge, or bail, or remand the parties so brought, as the case should require, and as to justice should appertain. The rest of the bill related to the return of the writ in three days, and the penalties incurred by those who should neglect or refuse to make the due return, or to comply with any other clause of this regulation. The Commons seemed hearty in rearing up this additional buttress to the liberty of their fellow-subjects, and passed the bill with the most laudable alacrity: but in the House of Lords such a great number of objections was started, that it sunk at the second reading, and the Judges were ordered to prepare a bill for the same purpose, to be laid before that House in the next session.

§ XL. His Majesty having recommended the care of the Foundling-Hospital to the House of Commons, which cheerfully granted forty thousand pounds for the support of that charity, the growing annual expence of it appeared worthy of further consideration, and leave was granted to bring in a bill, for obliging all the parishes of England and Wales to keep registers of all their deaths, births, and marriages, that from these a fund might be raised towards the support of the said hospital. The bill was accordingly prepared by a committee appointed for the purpose; but before the House could take the report into consideration, the Parliament was prorogued. The proprietors of the privateer called the Antigallican, which had taken a rich French ship homeward-bound from China, and carried her into Cadiz, where the Spanish Government had wrested her by violence from the captors, and delivered her to the French owners, now presented a petition to the House of Commons, complaining of this interposition as an act of partiality and injustice: representing the great expence at which the privateer had been equipped, the legality of the capture, the loss and

and hardships which they the petitioners had sustained, and imploring such relief as the House should think requisite. Though these allegations were supported by a species of evidence that seemed strong and convincing, and it might be thought incumbent on the Parliament to vindicate the honour of the nation, when thus insulted by a foreign Power, the House, upon this occasion, treated the petition with the most mortifying neglect, either giving little credit to the assertions it contained, or unwilling to take any step which might at this juncture embroil the nation with the court of Spain on such a frivolous subject. True it is, the Spanish government alledged, in their own justification, that the prize was taken under the guns of Corunna, insomuch that the shot fired by the privateer entered that place, and damaged some houses: but this allegation was never properly sustained, and the prize was certainly condemned as legal by the Court of Admiralty at Gibraltar.

§ XLI. As we have already given a detail of the trial of Sir John Mordaunt, it will be unnecessary to recapitulate any circumstance of that affair, except such as relate to its connexion with the proceedings of Parliament. In the beginning of this session, Lord Barrington, as Secretary at War, informed the House, by his Majesty's command, that Lieutenant-General Sir John Mordaunt, a member of that House, was in arrest for disobedience of his Majesty's orders, while employed on the late expedition to the coast of France. The Commons immediately resolved, That an address should be presented to his Majesty, returning him the thanks of this House for his gracious message of that day, in the communication he had been pleased to make of the reason for putting Lieutenant-General Sir John Mordaunt in arrest. Among the various objects of commerce that employed the attention of the House, one of the most considerable was the trade to the coast

coast of Africa, for the protection of which an annual sum had been granted for some years, to be expended in the maintenance and repairs of castles and factories. While a committee was employed in perusing the accounts relating to the sum granted in the preceding session for this purpose, a petition from the committee of the African company, recommended in a message from his Majesty, was presented to the House, soliciting further assistance for the ensuing year. In the mean time, a remonstrance was offered by certain planters and merchants, interested in trading to the British sugar colonies in America, alledging that the price of negroes was greatly advanced since the forts and settlements on the coast of Africa had been under the direction of the committee of the company of merchants trading to that coast; a circumstance that greatly distressed and alarmed the petitioners, prevented the cultivation of the British colonies, and was a great detriment to the trade and navigation of the kingdom: that this misfortune, they believed, was in some measure owing to the ruinous state and condition of the forts and settlements: that, in their opinion, the most effectual method for maintaining the interest of that trade on a respectable footing, next to that of an incorporated joint-stock company, would be putting those forts and settlements under the sole direction of the commissioners for trade and plantations: that the preservation or ruin of the American sugar colonies went hand in hand with that of the slave trade to Africa: that, by an act passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty, for extending and improving this trade, the British subjects were debarred from lodging their slaves and merchandize in the forts and settlements on the coast: they, therefore, prayed that this part of the act might be repealed: that all commanders of British and American vessels, free merchants, and all other his Majesty's subjects, who were settled, or

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might at any time thereafter settle in Africa, should have free liberty, from sun-rise to sun-set, to enter the forts and settlements, and to deposit their goods and merchandize in the warehouses thereunto belonging; to secure their slaves or other purchases without paying any consideration for the same; but the slaves to be victualled at the proper cost and charge of their respective owners. The House having taken this petition into consideration, enquired into the proceedings of the company, and revised the act for extending and improving the trade to Africa, resolved, That the committee of the African company had faithfully discharged the trust reposed in them, and granted ten thousand pounds for maintaining the British forts and settlements in that part of the world. The enemy were perfectly well acquainted with the weakness of the British castles on the coast of Africa; and had they known as well how to execute with spirit, as to plan with sagacity, the attempt which, in the course of the preceding year, they made upon the principal British fort in Guinea, would have succeeded, and all the other settlements would have fallen into their hands without opposition *.

* Robert Hunter Morris represented, in a petition to the House, that as no salt was made in the British colonies in America, they were obliged to depend upon a precarious supply of that commodity from foreigners; he, therefore, offered to undertake the making of marine-salt at a moderate price in one of those colonies, at his own risque and charge, provided he could be secured in the enjoyment of the profits which the work might produce, for such a term of years as might seem to the House a proper and adequate compensation for so great an undertaking. The petition was ordered to lie upon the table; afterwards read, and referred to a committee, which, however, made no report.—A circumstance not easily accounted for, unless we suppose the House of Commons were of opinion, that such an enterprize might contribute towards rendering our colonies too independent of their mother-country. Equally unaccountable was the miscarriage of another bill, brought in for regulating the manner of licensing alehouses, which was read for the first time; but when a motion was made for a second reading, the question was put, and it passed in the negative.

§ XLII.

§ XLII. The longest and warmest debate which was maintained in the course of this session arose from a motion for leave to bring in a bill for shortening the term and duration of future Parliaments; a measure truly patriotick, against which no substantial argument could be produced, although the motion was rejected by the majority, on pretence, that, whilst the nation was engaged in such a dangerous and expensive war, it would be improper to think of introducing such an alteration in the form of government. Reasons of equal strength and solidity will never be wanting to the patrons and ministers of corruption and venality. The alteration proposed was nothing less than removing and annulling an encroachment which had been made on the constitution: it might have been effected without the least pang or convulsion, to the general satisfaction of the nation: far from being unreasonable at this juncture, it would have enhanced the national reputation abroad, and rendered the war more formidable to the enemies of Great-Britain, by convincing them that it was supported by a ministry and Parliament, who stood upon such good terms with the people. Indeed, a quick succession of Parliaments might have disconcerted; and perhaps expelled that spirit of confidence and generosity which now so remarkably espoused and gratified the Sovereign's predilection for the interest of Hanover. Other committees were established, to enquire into the expence incurred by new lines and fortifications raised at Gibraltar; to examine the original standards of weights and measures used in England; consider the laws relating to them, and report their observations, together with their opinion of the most effectual means for ascertaining and enforcing uniform standards to be used for the future. The Commons were perfectly satisfied with the new works which had been raised at Gibraltar; and with respect to the weights and measures, the committee agreed to certain reso-

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lutions, but no further progress was made in this enquiry, except an order for printing these resolutions, with the appendix; however, as the boxes containing the standards were ordered to be locked up by the clerk of the House, in all probability their intention was to proceed on this subject in some future session. On the ninth day of June sundry bills received the royal assent by commission, his Majesty being indisposed; and on the twentieth day of the same month, the Lords commissioners closed the session with a speech to both Houses, expressing his Majesty's deep sense of their loyalty and good affection, demonstrated in their late proceedings, in their zeal for his honour and real interest in all parts, in their earnestness to surmount every difficulty, in their ardour to maintain the war with the utmost vigour; proofs which must convince mankind that the ancient spirit of the British nation still subsisted in its full force. They were given to understand that the King had taken all such measures as appeared the most conducive to the accomplishment of their publick-spirited views and wishes; that with their assistance, crowned by the blessing of God upon the conduct and bravery of the combined army, his Majesty has been enabled, not only to deliver his dominions in Germany from the oppressions and devastations of the French, but also to push his advantages on this side the Rhine; that he had cemented the union between him and his good brother the King of Prussia, by new engagements; that the British fleets and armies were now actually employed in such expeditions as appeared likely to annoy the enemy in the most sensible manner, and to promote the welfare and prosperity of these kingdoms; in particular, to preserve the British rights and possessions in America, and to make France feel, in those parts, the real strength and importance of Great-Britain. The Commons were thanked for the ample supplies which they had so freely and unanimously

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given, and assured on the part of his Majesty that they should be managed with the most frugal œconomy. They were desired, in consequence of the King's earnest recommendation, to promote harmony and good agreement amongst his faithful subjects; to make the people acquainted with the rectitude and purity of his intentions and measures, and to exert themselves in maintaining the peace and good order of the country, by enforcing obedience to the laws and lawful authority.

§ XLIII. Never, surely, had any sovereign more reason to be pleased with the conduct of his ministers, and the spirit of his people. The whole nation reposed the most unbounded confidence in the courage and discretion, as well as in the integrity of the minister, who seemed eager upon prosecuting the war with such vigour and activity as appeared almost unexampled in the annals of Great-Britain. New levies were made, new ships put in commission, fresh expeditions undertaken, and fresh conquests projected. Such was the credit of the administration, that people subscribed to the government loans with surprising eagerness. An unusual spirit of enterprise and resolution seemed to inspire all the individuals that constituted the army and navy: and the passion for military fame diffused itself through all ranks in the civil department of life, even to the very dregs of the populace: such a remarkable change from indolence to activity, from indifference to zeal, from timorous caution to fearless execution, was effected by the influence and example of an intelligent and intrepid minister, who, chagrined at the inactivity and disgraces of the preceding campaign, had, on a very solemn occasion, lately declared his belief that there was a determined resolution, both in the naval and military commanders, against any vigorous exertion of the national power in the service of the country. He affirmed, that though his Majesty appeared ready to embrace every measure proposed by his ministers

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for the honour and interest of his British dominions, yet scarce a man could be found with whom the execution of any one plan in which there was the least appearance of any danger could with confidence be trusted. He particularised the inactivity of one General in North-America, from whose abilities and personal bravery the nation had conceived great expectations: he complained, that this noble commander had expressed the most contemptuous disregard for the civil power from which he derived his authority, by neglecting to transmit, for a considerable length of time, any other advice of his proceedings but what appeared on a written scrap of paper: he observed, that with a force by land and sea greater than ever the nation had heretofore maintained, with a King and ministry ardently desirous of redeeming her glory, succouring her allies, and promoting her true interest, a shameful dislike to the service every where prevailed, and few seemed affected with any other zeal than that of aspiring to the highest posts, and grasping the largest salaries. The censure levelled at the commander in America was founded on mistake: the inactivity of that noble Lord was not more disappointing to the ministry than disagreeable to his own inclination. He used his utmost endeavours to answer the expectation of the publick, but his hands were effectually tied up by an absolute impossibility of success, and his conduct stood justified in the eyes of his Sovereign. A particular and accurate detail of his proceedings he transmitted through a channel, which he imagined would have directly conveyed it to the foot of the throne; but the packet was said to have been purposely intercepted and suppressed. Perhaps he was not altogether excusable for having corresponded so slightly with the Secretary of State; but he was said to have gone abroad in full persuasion that the ministry would be changed, and therefore his assiduities were principally directed to the great personage, who, in that case,

case, would have superintended and directed all the operations of the army. All sorts of military preparations in founderies, docks, arsenals, raising and exercising troops, and victualling transports, were now carried on with such diligence and dispatch as seemed to promise an exertion that would soon obliterate the disagreeable remembrance of past disgrace. The beginning of the year was, however, a little clouded by a general concern for the death of his Majesty's third daughter, the Princess Caroline, a lady of the most exemplary virtue and amiable character, who died at the age of forty-five, sincerely regretted as a pattern of unaffected piety, and unbounded benevolence.

§ XLIV. The British cruisers kept the sea during all the severity of winter, in order to protect the commerce of the kingdom, and annoy that of the enemy. They exerted themselves with such activity, and their vigilance was attended with such success, that a great number of prizes were taken, and the trade of France almost totally extinguished. A very gallant exploit was atchieved by one Captain Bray, commander of the Adventure, a small armed vessel in the Government's service: falling in with the Machault, a large privateer of Dunkirk, near Dungeness, he ran her a-board, fastened her boltsprit to his capstan, and, after a warm engagement, compelled her commander to submit. A French frigate of thirty-six guns was taken by Captain Parker, in a new fire ship of inferior force. Divers privateers of the enemy were sunk, burned or taken, and a great number of merchant-ships fell into the hands of the English. Nor was the success of the British ships of war confined to the English Channel. At this period the board of Admiralty received information from Admiral Cotes, in Jamaica, of an action which happened off the island of Hispaniola, in the month of October of the preceding year, between three English ships of war and a French squadron. Captain

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tain Forrest, an officer of distinguished merit in the service, had, in the ship Augusta, sailed from Port-Royal in Jamacia, accompanied by the Dreadnought and Edinburgh, under the command of the Captains Suckling and Langdon. He was ordered to cruise off Cape François, and this service he literally performed in the face of the French squadron under Kersin, lately arrived at that place from the coast of Africa. This commander, piqued at seeing himself thus insulted by an inferior armament, resolved to come forth and give them battle; and that he might either take them, or at least drive them out of the seas, so as to afford a free passage to a great number of merchant-ships then lying at the Cape, bound for Europe, he took every precaution which he thought necessary to insure success. He reinforced his squadron with some store ships, mounted with guns, and armed for the occasion, and supplied the deficiency in his complements, by taking on board seamen from the merchant-ships, and soldiers from the garrison. Thus prepared, he weighed anchor, and stood out to sea, having under his command four large ships of the line, and three stout frigates. They were no sooner perceived advancing, than Captain Forrest held a short council with his two Captains. "Gentlemen, (said he) you know our "own strength, and see that of the enemy; shall we "give them battle?" They replying in the affirmative; he added, "Then fight them we will, "there is no time to be lost; return to your ships, "and get them ready for engaging." After this laconick consultation among these three gallant officers, they bore down upon the French squadron without further hesitation, and between three and four in the afternoon the action began with great impetuosity. The enemy exerted themselves with uncommon spirit, conscious that their honour was peculiarly at stake, and that they fought in sight, as it were, of their own coast, which was lined with people,

people, expecting to see them return in triumph. But notwithstanding all their endeavours, their Commodore, after having sustained a severe engagement, that lasted two hours and a half, found his ship in such a shattered condition, that he made signal for one of his frigates to come and tow him out of the line. His example was followed by the rest of his squadron, which, by this assistance, with the favour of the land breeze and the approach of night, made shift to accomplish their escape from the three British ships, which were too much disabled in their masts and rigging to prosecute their victory. One of the French squadron was rendered altogether unserviceable for action: their loss in men amounted to three hundred killed, and as many wounded; whereas that of the English did not much exceed one third of this number. Nevertheless, they were so much damaged, that, being unable to keep the sea, they returned to Jamaica, and the French Commodore seized the opportunity of sailing with a great convoy for Europe. The courage of Captain Forrest was not more conspicuous in his engagement with the French squadron near Cape-François, than his conduct and sagacity in a subsequent adventure near Port-au-Prince, a French harbour, situated at the bottom of a bay on the western part of Hispaniola, behind the small island of Gonave. After M. de Kersin had taken his departure from Cape-François for Europe, Admiral Cotes, beating up to windward from Port-Royal in Jamaica with three ships of the line, received intelligence that there was a French fleet at Port-au-Prince, ready to sail on their return to Europe: Captain Forrest then presented the Admiral with a plan for an attack on this place, and urged it earnestly. This, however, was declined, and Captain Forrest directed to cruise off the island Gonave for two days only, the Admiral enjoining him to return at the expiration of the time, and rejoin the squadron at Cape Nicholas. Accordingly, Captain

Forrest,

Forrest, in the Augusta, proceeded up the bay, between the island Gonave and Hispaniola, with a view to execute a plan which he had himself projected. Next day in the afternoon, though he perceived two sloops, he forebore chasing, that he might not risque a discovery; for the same purpose he hoisted Dutch colours, and disguised his ship with tarpaulins. At five in the afternoon he discovered seven sail of ships steering to the westward, and hauled from them, to avoid suspicion; but at the approach of night gave chase with all the sail he could carry. About ten he perceived two sail, one of which fired a gun, and the other made the best of her way for Leoganne, another harbour in the bay. At this period Captain Forrest reckoned eight sail to leeward, near another port called Petit Goave; coming up with the ship which had fired the gun, she submitted without opposition, after he had hailed, and told her captain what he was, produced two of his largest cannon, and threatened to sink her if she should give the least alarm. He forthwith shifted the prisoners from this prize, and placed on board of her five-and-thirty of his own crew, with orders to stand for Petit Goave and intercept any of the fleet that might attempt to reach that harbour. Then he made sail after the rest, and in the dawn of the morning, finding himself in the middle of their fleet, he began to fire at them all in their turns, as he could bring his guns to bear, they returned the fire for some time; at length the Marguerite, the Solide, and the Theodore struck their colours. These being secured, were afterwards used in taking the Maurice, Le Grand, and La Flore; the Brilliant also submitted, and the Mars made sail, in hopes of escaping, but the Augusta coming up with her about noon, she likewise fell into the hands of the victor. Thus, by a well-conducted stratagem, a whole fleet of nine sail were taken by a single ship, in the neighbourhood of four or five harbours, in any one of which

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they would have found immediate shelter and security. The prizes, which happened to be richly laden, were safely conveyed to Jamaica, and there sold at publick auction, for the benefit of the captors, who may safely challenge history to produce such another instance of success.

§ XLV. The ministry having determined to make vigorous efforts against the enemy in North-America, Admiral Boscawen was vested with the command of the fleet destined for that service, and sailed from St. Helen's on the nineteenth day of February, when the Invincible, of seventy-four guns, one of the best ships that constituted his squadron, ran a-ground, and perished; but her men, stores, and artillery were saved. In the course of the succeeding month, Sir Edward Hawke steered into the Bay of Biscay with another squadron, in order to intercept any supplies from France designed for Cape-Breton or Canada; and about the same time the town of Embden, belonging to his Prussian Majesty, which had fallen into the hands of the enemy, was suddenly retrieved by the conduct of Commodore Holmes, stationed on that coast, who sent up two of his small ships to anchor in the river between Knok and the city. The garrison, amounting to three thousand seven hundred men, finding themselves thus cut off from all communication with the country below, abandoned the place with great precipitation, and some of their baggage being sent off by water, was taken by the boats which the Commodore armed for that purpose. It was in the same month that the Admiralty received advice of another advantage by sea, which had been gained by Admiral Osborne, while he cruised between Cape de Gatt and Carthagena, on the coast of Spain. On the twenty-eighth day of March he fell in with a French squadron, commanded by the Marquis du Quesne, consisting of four ships, namely, the Foudroyant, of eighty guns, the Orphée, of sixty-four, the Oriflamme,

flamme, of fifty, and the Pleiade frigate, of twenty-four, in their passage from Toulon to reinforce M. de la Clue, who had for some time been blocked up by Admiral Osborne in the harbour of Carthagena. The enemy no sooner perceived the English squadron than they dispersed, and steered different courses: then Mr. Osborne detached divers ships in pursuit of each, while he himself, with the body of his fleet, stood off for the bay of Carthagena, to watch the motions of the French squadron which lay there at anchor. About seven in the evening, the Orphée, having on board five hundred men, struck to Captain Storr, in the Revenge, who lost the calf of one leg in the engagement, during which he was sustained by the ships Berwick and Preston. The Monmouth of sixty-four guns, commanded by Captain Gardener, engaged the Foudroyant, one of the largest ships in the French navy, mounted with fourscore cannon, and containing eight hundred men, under the direction of the Marquis du Quesne. The action was maintained with great fury on both sides, and the gallant Captain Gardener lost his life: nevertheless the fight was continued with unabating vigour by his lieutenant, Mr. Carkett, and the Foudroyant disabled in such a manner, that her commander struck, as soon as the other English ships, the Swiftsure and the Hampton-Court, appeared. This mortifying step, however, he did not take until he saw his ship lie like a wreck upon the water, and the decks covered with carnage. The Oriflamme was driven on shore under the Castle of Aiglos, by the ships Montague and Monarque, commanded by the Captains Rowley and Montague, who could not complete their destruction without violating the neutrality of Spain. As for the Pleiade frigate, she made her escape by being a prime sailer. This was a severe stroke upon the enemy, who not only lost two of their capital ships, but saw them added to the navy of Great-Britain, and the disaster

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was followed close by another, which they could not help feeling with equal sensibility of mortification and chagrin. In the beginning of April, Sir Edward Hawke, steering with his squadron into Basque-road, on the coast of Poictou, discovered, off the isle of Aix, a French fleet at anchor, consisting of five ships of the line, with six frigates, and forty transports, having on board three thousand troops, and a large quantity of stores and provisions intended as a supply for their settlements in North-America. They no sooner saw the English Admiral advancing, than they began to slip their cables, and fly in the utmost confusion. Some of them escaped by sea, but a great number ran into shoal water, where they could not be pursued; and next morning they appeared a-ground, lying on their broad-sides. Sir Edward Hawke, who had rode all night at anchor a-breast of the Isle of Aix, furnished the ships Intrepid and Medway with trusty pilots, and sent them farther in when the flood began to make, with orders to sound a-head, that he might know whether there was any possibility of attacking the enemy, but the want of a sufficient depth of water rendered the scheme impracticable. In the mean time, the French threw over-board their cannon, stores, and ballast; and boats and launches from Rochefort were employed in carrying out warps, to drag their ships through the soft mud, as soon as they should be water-borne by the flowing-tide. By these means their large ships of war, and many of their transports, escaped into the river Charente; but their loading was lost, and the end of their equipment totally defeated. Another convoy of merchant-ships, under the protection of three frigates, Sir Edward Hawke, a few days before, had chased into the harbour of St. Martin's, in the isle of Rhé, where they still remained, waiting an opportunity for hazarding a second departure: a third, consisting of twelve sail, bound from Bourdeaux to Quebeck, under convoy

convoy of a frigate and armed vessel, was encountered at sea by one British ship of the line and two fire ships, which took the frigate and armed vessel, and two of the convoy afterwards met with the same fate; but this advantage was over-balanced by the loss of Captain James Hume, commander of the Pluto fire ship, a brave accomplished officer, who, in an unequal combat with the enemy, refused to quit the deck, even when he was disabled, and fell gloriously, covered with wounds, exhorting the people, with his latest breath, to continue the engagement while the ship could swim, and acquit themselves with honour in the service of their country.

§ XLVI. On the twenty-ninth day of May the Raisonable, a French ship of the line, mounted with sixty-four cannon, having on board six hundred and thirty men, commanded by the Prince de Mombazon, Chevalier de Rohan, was, in her passage from Port l'Orient to Brest, attacked by Captain Dennis, in the Dorsetshire, of seventy guns, and taken after an obstinate engagement, in which one hundred and sixty men of the Prince's complement were killed or wounded, and he sustained great damage in his hull, sails, and rigging. These successes were moreover chequered by the tidings of a lamentable disaster that befel the ship Prince George, of eighty guns, commanded by Rear-Admiral Broderick, in his passage to the Mediterranean. On the thirteenth day of April, between one and two in the afternoon, a dreadful fire broke out in the fore part of the ship, and raged with such fury, that notwithstanding all the efforts of the officers and men for several hours, the flames increased, and the ship being consumed to the water's edge, the remnant sunk about six o'clock in the evening. The horror and consternation of such a scene are not easily described. When all endeavours proved fruitless, and no hope of preserving the ship remained, the barge was hoisted out for the preservation of the Admiral, who entered it accordingly;

accordingly; but all distinction of persons being now abolished, the seamen rushed into it in such crowds, that in a few moments it overset. The Admiral, foreseeing that this would be the case, stripped off his clothes, and committing himself to the mercy of the waves, was saved by the boat of a merchant-ship, after he had sustained himself in the sea a full hour by swimming. Captain Payton, who was the second in command, remained upon the quarter-deck as long as it was possible to keep that station, and then, descending by the stern ladder, had the good fortune to be taken into a boat belonging to the Alderney sloop. The hull of the ship, masts, and rigging, were now in a blaze, bursting tremendous in several parts through horrid clouds of smoak; nothing was heard but the cracking of the flames, mingled with the dismal cries of terror and distraction; nothing was seen but acts of phrenzy and desperation. The miserable wretches, affrighted at the horrors of such a conflagration, sought a fate less dreadful, by plunging into the sea, and about three hundred men were preserved by the boats belonging to some ships that accompanied the Admiral in his voyage, but five hundred perished in the ocean.

§ XLVII. The King of Great-Britain being determined to renew his attempt upon the coast of France, ordered a very formidable armament to be equipped for that purpose. Two powerful squadrons by sea were destined for the service of this expedition, the first, consisting of eleven great ships, was commanded by Lord Anson and Sir Edward Hawke; the other, composed of four ships of the line, seven frigates, six sloops, two fire-ships, two bombs, ten cutters, twenty tenders, ten store ships, and one hundred transports, was put under the direction of Commodore Howe, who had signalized himself by his gallantry and conduct in the course of the last fruitless expedition. The plan of a de-

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scent upon France having been adopted by the ministry, a body of troops, consisting of sixteen regiments, nine troops of light horse, and six thousand marines, was assembled for the execution of this design, and embarked under the command of the Duke of Marlborough; a nobleman, who, though he did not inherit all the military genius of his grandfather, yet far excelled him in the amiable and social qualities of the heart: he was brave beyond all question, generous to profusion, and good-natured to excess. On this occasion he was assisted by the councils of Lord George Sackville, second in command, son to the Duke of Dorset; an officer of experience and reputation, who had, in the civil departments of government, exhibited proofs of extraordinary genius and uncommon application. The troops having been encamped for some time upon the Isle of Wight, were embarked in the latter end of May, and the two fleets sailed in the beginning of June for the coast of Bretagne, leaving the people of England flushed with the gayest hopes of victory and conquest. The two fleets parted at sea: Lord Anson, with his squadron, proceeded to the bay of Biscay, in order to watch the motions of the enemy's ships, and harass their navigation; while Commodore Howe, with the land forces, steered directly towards St. Maloes, a strong place of considerable commerce, situated on the coast of Bretagne, against which the proposed invasion seemed to be chiefly intended. The town, however, was found too well fortified, both by art and nature, to admit of an attempt by sea with any prospect of success; and, therefore, it was resolved to make a descent in the neighbourhood. After the fleet had been, by contrary winds, detained several days in sight of the French coast, it arrived in the bay of Cancalle, about two leagues to the eastward of St. Maloes, and Mr. Howe having silenced a small battery which the enemy had occasionally raised

upon

upon the beach, the troops were landed, without further opposition, on the sixth day of June. The Duke of Marlborough immediately began his march towards St. Servan, with a view to destroy such shipping and magazines as might be in any accessible parts of the river; and this scheme was executed with success. A great quantity of naval stores, two ships of war, several privateers, and about fourscore vessels of different sorts, were set on fire and reduced to ashes, almost under the cannon of the place, which, however, they could not pretend to besiege in form. His grace having received repeated advices that the enemy were busily employed in assembling forces to march against him, returned to Cancalle, where Mr. Howe had made such a masterly disposition of the boats and transports that the re-embarkation of the troops was performed with surprising ease and expedition. The forces, while they remained on shore, were restrained from all outrages by the most severe discipline; and the French houses, which their inhabitants had abandoned, were left untouched. Immediately after their landing, the Duke of Marlborough, as commander in chief, published and distributed a manifesto, addressed to the people of Bretagne, giving them to understand, that his descent upon the coast was not effected with a design to make war on the inhabitants of the open country, except such as should be found in arms, or otherwise opposing the operations of his Britannick Majesty: that all who were willing to continue in peaceable possession of their effects, might remain unmolested in their respective dwellings, and follow their usual occupations; that, besides the customs and taxes they used to pay to their own King, nothing should be required of them but what was absolutely necessary for the subsistence of the army; and that, for all provisions brought in, they should be paid in ready money. He concluded this notice with declaring, that

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that if notwithstanding these assurances of protection, they should carry off their effects and provisions, and abandon the places of their habitation, he would treat them as enemies, and destroy their houses with fire and sword. To the magistracy of St. Maloes he likewise sent a letter, importing, that as all the inhabitants of the towns and villages between Dinant, Rennes, and Doll, now in his possession, had deserted their habitations, probably to avoid the payment of the usual contributions; and he being informed that the magistrates had compelled the people of the country to retire into the town of St. Maloes; he now gave them notice, that if they did not immediately send them back to their houses, and come themselves to his head-quarters, to settle the contributions, he should think himself obliged to proceed to military execution. These threats, however, were not put in force, although the magistrates of St. Maloes did not think proper to comply with his injunction. But it was found altogether impossible to prevent irregularities among troops that were naturally licentious. Some houses were pillaged, and not without acts of barbarity: but the offenders were brought to immediate justice; and it must be owned, as an incontestable proof of the General's humanity, that in destroying the magazines of the enemy at St. Servan, which may be termed the suburbs of St. Maloes, he ordered one small storehouse to be spared, because it could not be set on fire without endangering the whole district. The British forces being reembarked, including about five hundred light horse, which had been disciplined and carried over with a view to scour the country, the fleet was detained by contrary winds in the bay of Cancalle for several days, during which a design seems to have been formed for attacking Granville, which had been reconnoitred by some of the engineers: but, in consequence of their report, the scheme was laid aside, and the fleet stood out to sea, where it was exposed

to

to some rough weather. In a few days the wind blowing in a northern direction, they steered again towards the French coast, and ran in with the land near Havre-de-Grace, where the flat-bottomed boats, provided for landing, were hoisted out, and a second disembarkation expected. But the wind blowing violently towards the evening, the boats were re-shipped, and the fleet obliged to quit the land, in order to avoid the dangers of a lee-shore. Next day, the weather being more moderate, they returned to the same station, and orders were given to prepare for a descent; but the Duke of Marlborough having taken a view of the coast in an open cutter, accompanied by Commodore Howe, thought proper to wave the attempt. Their next step was to bear away before the wind for Cherbourg, in the neighbourhood of which place the fleet came to anchor. Here some of the transports received the fire of six different batteries; and a considerable body of troops appeared in arms to dispute the landing; nevertheless, the General resolved that the forts Querqueville, l'Hommet, and Gallet should be attacked in the night by the first regiment of guards. The soldiers were actually distributed in the flat-bottomed boats, and every preparation made for this enterprize, when the wind began to blow with such violence, that the troops could not be landed without the most imminent danger and difficulty, nor properly sustained in case of a repulse, even if the disembarkation could have been effected. This attempt, therefore, was laid aside, but at the same time a resolution taken to stand in towards the shore with the whole fleet, to cover a general landing. A disposition was made accordingly; but the storm increasing, the transports ran foul of each other, and the ships were exposed to all the perils of a lee-shore, for the gale blew directly upon the coast; besides the provisions began to fail, and the hay for the horses was almost consumed. These con-

curring reasons induced the commanders to postpone the disembarkation to a more favourable opportunity. The fleet stood out to sea, and the tempest abating, they steered for the Isle of Wight, and next day anchored at St. Helen's. Such was the issue of an enterprise atchieved with considerable success, if we consider the damage done to the enemy's shipping, and the other objects which the ministry had in view, namely, to secure the navigation of the channel, and make a diversion in favour of the German allies, by alarming the French King, and obliging him to employ a great number of troops to defend his coast from insult and invasion; but whether such a mighty armament was necessary for the accomplishment of these petty aims, aud whether the same armament might not have been employed in executing schemes of infinitely greater advantage to the nation, we shall leave to the judicious reader's own reflection.

§ XLVIII. The designs upon the coast of France, though interrupted by tempestuous weather, were not as yet laid aside for the whole season: but, in the mean time, the troops were disembarked on the Isle of Wight; and one brigade marched to the northward, to join a body of troops, with which the government resolved to augment the army of the Allies in Germany, commanded by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. The Duke of Marlborough and Lord George Sackville being appointed to conduct this British corps upon the continent, the command of the marine expeditions devolved to Lieutenant-General Bligh, an old experienced officer, who had served with reputation; and his Royal Highness Prince Edward, afterwards created Duke of York, entered as a volunteer with Commodore Howe, in order to learn the rudiments of the sea-service. The remainder of the troops being re-embarked, and every thing prepared for the second expedition, the fleet sailed from St. Helen's on the first of August;

gust; and after a tedious passage from calms and contrary winds, anchored on the seventh day in the bay of Cherbourg. By this time the enemy had entrenched themselves within a line, extending from the fort Ecœurdeville, which stands about two miles to the westward of Cherbourg, along the coast for the space of four miles, fortified with several batteries at proper distances. Behind this entrenchment a body of horse and infantry appeared in red and blue uniforms; but as they did not advance to the open beach, the less risque was run in landing the British forces. At first a bomb-ketch had been sent to anchor near the town, and throw some shells into the place, as a feint to amuse the enemy, and deceive them with regard to the place of disembarkation, while the General had determined to land about a league to the westward of Querqueville, the most western fort in the bay. The other bomb-ketches being posted along shore, did considerable execution upon the entrenchments, not only by throwing shells in the usual way, but also by using ball-mortars, filled with great quantities of balls, which may be thrown to a great distance, and, by scattering as they fly, do abundance of mischief. While the ketches fired without ceasing, the grenadiers and guards were rowed regularly ashore in the flat-bottomed boats, and landing without opposition, instantly formed, on a small open portion of the beach, with a natural breast-work in their front, having on the other side a hollow way, and a village rising beyond it with a sudden ascent: on the left, the ground was intersected by hedges, and covered with orchards, and from this quarter the enemy advanced in order. The British troops immediately quitted the breast-work, in order to meet them half way, and a straggling fire began; but the French edging to the left, took possession of the hill, from whence they piquecred with the advanced posts of the English. In the mean time, the rest of the

 infantry

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fantry were disembarked, and the enemy at night retired. As the light troops were not yet landed, General Bligh encamped that night at the village of Erville, on a piece of ground that did not extend above four hundred paces; so that the tents were pitched in a crowded and irregular manner. Next morning, the general having received intelligence that no parties of the enemy were seen moving on the hill, or in the plain, and that fort Querqueville was entirely abandoned, made a disposition for marching in two columns to Cherbourg. An advanced party took immediate possession of Querqueville; and the lines and batteries along the shore were now deserted by the enemy. The British forces marching behind St. Aulne, Ecœurdeville, Hommet, and La Galet, found the town of Cherbourg likewise abandoned, and the gates being open, entered it without opposition. The citizens, encouraged by a manifesto containing a promise of protection, which had been published and distributed, in order to quiet their apprehensions, received their new guests with a good grace, overwhelming them with civilities, for which they met with a very ungrateful return; for as the bulk of the army was not regularly encamped and superintended, the soldiers were at liberty to indulge themselves in riot and licentiousness. All night long they ravaged the adjacent country without restraint; and as no guards had been regularly placed in the streets and avenues of Cherbourg, to prevent disorders, the town itself was not exempted from pillage and brutality. These outrages, however, were no sooner known, than the General took immediate steps for putting a stop to them for the present, and preventing all irregularities for the future. Next morning the place being reconnoitred, he determined to destroy, without delay, all the forts and the bason; and the execution of this design was left to the engineers, assisted by the officers of the fleet

fleet and artillery. Great sums of money had been expended upon the harbour and bason of Cherbourg, which at one time was considered by the French Court as an object of great importance, from its situation respecting the river Siene, as well as the opposite coast of England; but as the works were left unfinished, in all appearance the plan had grown into disreputation. The enemy had raised several unconnected batteries along the bay; but the town itself was quite open and defenceless. While the engineers were employed in demolishing the works, the light-horse scoured the country, and detachments were every day sent out towards Walloign, at the distance of four leagues from Cherbourg, where the enemy were encamped, and every hour received reinforcements. Several skirmishes were fought by the out parties of each army, in one of which Capt. Lindsay, a gallant young officer, who had been very instrumental in training the light-horse, was mortally wounded. The harbour and bason of Cherbourg being destroyed, together with all the forts in the neighbourhood, and about twenty pieces of brass cannon secured on board the English ships, a contribution, amounting to about three thousand pounds sterling, was exacted upon the town, and a plan of re-embarkation, concerted; as it appeared from the report of peasants and deserters, that the enemy were already increased to a formidable number. A slight entrenchment being raised, sufficient to defend the last division that should be re-embarked, the stores and artillery were shipped, and the light horses conveyed on board their respective transports, by means of platforms laid in the flat-bottomed vessels. On the sixteenth day of August at three o'clock in the morning, the forces marched from Cherbourg down to the beach, and re-embarked at Fort Galet, without the least disturbance from the enemy.

§ XLIX. This service being happily performed, the fleet set sail for the coast of England, and anchored

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chored in the road of Weymouth, under the high land of Portland. In two days it weighed and stood again to the southward; but was obliged, by contrary winds to return to the same riding. The second effort, however, was more effectual. The fleet with some difficulty kept the sea, and steering to the French coast, came to anchor in the bay of St. Lunaire, two leagues to the westward of St. Maloes, against which it was determined to make another attempt. The sloops and ketches being ranged along shore to cover the disembarkation, the troops landed on a fair open beach, and a detachment of grenadiers was sent to the harbour of St. Briac, above the town of St. Maloes, where they destroyed about fifteen small vessels: but St. Maloes itself being properly surveyed, appeared to be above insult, either from the land forces or the shipping. The mouth of the river that forms its bason, extends above two miles in breadth at its narrowest part, so as to be out of the reach of land batteries, and the entrance is defended by such forts and batteries as the ships of war could not pretend to silence, considering the difficult navigation of the channels; besides fifty pieces of large cannon planted on these forts and batteries, the enemy had mounted forty on the west side of the town; and the bason was, moreover, strengthened by seven frigates or armed vessels, whose guns might have been brought to bear upon any batteries that could be raised on shore, as well as upon ships entering by the usual channel. For these substantial reasons the design against St. Maloes was dropped; but the General being unwilling to re-embark, without having taken some step for the further annoyance of the enemy, resolved to penetrate into the country, conducting his motions, however, so as to be near the fleet, which had by this time, quitted the bay of St Lunaire, where it could not ride with any safety, and anchored in the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the westward.

§ L.

§ L. On Friday the eighth of September, General Bligh, with his little army, began his march for Guildo, at the distance of nine miles, which he reached in the evening: next day he crossed a little gut or inlet of the sea, at low water, and his troops being incommoded by the peasants, who fired at them from hedges and houses, he sent a priest with a message, intimating, that if they would not desist, he would reduce their houses to ashes. No regard being paid to this intimation, the houses were actually set on fire as soon as the troops had formed their camp about two miles on the other side of the inlet. Next morning he proceeded to the village of Matignon, where, after some smart skirmishing, the French piquets appeared, drawn up in order, to the number of two battalions; but having sustained a few shot from the English field-pieces, and seeing the grenadiers advance, they suddenly dispersed. General Bligh continuing his route through the village, encamped in the open ground, about three miles from the bay of St. Cas, which was this day reconnoitred for re-embarkation: for he now received undoubted intelligence, that the Duke d'Aiguillon had advanced from Brest to Lambale, within six miles of the English camp, at the head of twelve regular battalions, six squadrons, two regiments of militia, eight mortars, and ten pieces of cannon. The bay of St. Cas was covered by an entrenchment which the enemy had thrown up, to prevent or oppose any disembarkation; and on the outside of this work there was a range of sand-hills extending along shore, which could have served as a cover to the enemy, from whence they might have annoyed the troops in re-embarking: for this reason a proposal was made to the General, that the forces should be re-embarked from a fair open beach on the left, between St. Cas and Guildo; but this advice was rejected, and, indeed, the subsequent operations of the army savoured strongly of blind security

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and rash presumption. Had the troops decamped in the night without noise, in all probability they would have arrived at the beach before the French had received the least intelligence of their motion; and, in that case, the whole army, consisting of about six thousand men, might have been re-embarked without the least interruption: but, instead of this cautious manner of proceeding, the drums were beaten at two o'clock in the morning, as if with intention to give notice to the enemy, who forthwith repeated the same signal. The troops were in motion before three, and though the length of the march did not exceed three miles, the halts and interruptions were so numerous and frequent, that they did not arrive on the beach of St. Cas till nine. Then the embarkation was begun, and might have been happily finished, had the transports lain near the shore, and received the men as fast as the boats could have conveyed them on board, without distinction; but many ships rode at considerable distance, and every boat carried the men on board the respective transports to which they belonged; a punctilio of disposition by which a great deal of time was unnecessarily consumed. The small ships and bomb-ketches were brought near the shore to cover the embarkation; and a considerable number of sea-officers were stationed on the beach, to superintend the boats' crews, and regulate the service; but, notwithstanding all their attention and authority, some of the boats were otherwise employed than in conveying the unhappy soldiers. Had all the cutters and small craft belonging to the fleet been properly occupied in this service, the disgrace and disaster of the day would scarce have happened. The British forces had skirmished a little on the march, but no considerable body of the enemy appeared until the embarkation was begun; then they took possession of an eminence by a windmill, and forthwith opened a battery of ten cannon and

eight

eight mortars, from whence they fired with considerable effect upon the soldiers on the beach, and on the boats in their passage. They afterwards began to march down the hill, partly covered by a hollow way on their left, with a design to gain a wood, where they might form and extend themselves along the front of the English, and advance against them under shelter of the sand-hills; but in their descent they suffered extremely from the cannon and mortars of the shipping, which made great havock, and threw them into confusion. Their line of march down the hill was staggered, and for some time continued in suspense; then they turned off to one side, extended themselves along a hill to their left and advanced in a hollow way, from whence they suddenly rushed out to the attack. Though the greater part of the British troops were already embarked, the rear-guard, consisting of all the grenadiers, and half of the first regiment of guards, remained on the shore, to the number of fifteen hundred, under the command of Major-General Dury. This officer, seeing the French advance, ordered his troops to form in grand divisions, and march from behind the bank that covered them, in order to charge the enemy before they could be formed on the plain. Had this step been taken when it was first suggested to Mr. Dury, before the French were disengaged from the hollow way, perhaps it might have so far succeeded as to disconcert and throw them into confusion: but by this time they had extended themselves into a very formidable front, and no hope remained of being able to withstand such a superior number. Instead of attempting to fight against such odds in an open field of battle, they might have retreated along the beach to a rock on the left, in which progress their right flank would have been secured by the entrenchment; and the enemy could not have pursued them along the shore, without being exposed to such a fire from

the shipping, as in all probability they could not have sustained. This scheme was likewise proposed to Mr. Dury; but he seemed to be actuated by a spirit of infatuation. The English line being drawn up in uneven ground, began the action with an irregular fire from right to left, which the enemy returned; but their usual fortitude and resolution seemed to forsake them on this occasion. They saw themselves in danger of being surrounded, and cut in pieces; their officers dropped on every side; and all hope of retreat was now intercepted. In this cruel dilemma their spirits failed; they were seized with a panick; they faultered, they broke; and in less than five minutes after the engagement began they fled in the utmost confusion, pursued by the enemy, who no sooner saw them give way than they fell in among them with their bayonets fixed, and made a great carnage. General Dury being dangerously wounded, ran into the sea, where he perished; and this was the fate of a great number, officers as well as soldiers. Many swam towards the boats and vessels, which were ordered to give them all manner of assistance; but by far the greater number were either butchered on the beach, or drowned in the water: a small body, however, instead of throwing themselves into the sea, retired to the rock on the left, where they made a stand, until they had exhausted their ammunition, and then surrendered at discretion. The havock was moreover increased by the shot and shells discharged from the battery which the enemy had raised on the hill. The slaughter would not have been so great, had not the French soldiers been exasperated by the fire from the frigates, which was still maintained even after the English troops were routed; but this was no sooner silenced by a signal from the Commodore, than the enemy exhibited a noble example of moderation and humanity, in granting immediate quarter and protection to the vanquished. About one thousand chosen

chosen men of the English army were killed and taken prisoners on this occasion: ner was the advantage cheaply purchased by the French troops, among whom the shot and shells from the frigates and ketches had done great execution. The clemency of the victors was the more remarkable, as the British troops in this expedition had been shamefully guilty of marauding, pillaging, burning, and other excesses. War is so dreadful in itself, and so severe in its consequences, that the exercise of generosity and compassion, by which its horrors are mitigated, ought ever to be applauded, encouraged, and imitated. We ought also to use our best endeavours to deserve this treatment at the hands of a civilized enemy. Let us be humane in our turn to those whom the fate of war had subjected to our power: let us, in prosecuting our military operations, maintain the most rigid discipline among the troops, and religiously abstain from all acts of violence and oppression. Thus, a laudable emulation will undoubtedly ensue, and the powers at war vie with each other in humanity and politeness. In other respects, the commander of an invading armament will always find his account in being well with the common people of the country in which the descent is made. By civil treatment and seasonable gratifications, they will be encouraged to bring into the camp regular supplies of provision and refreshment: they will mingle with the soldiers, and even form friendships among them: serve as guides, messengers, and interpreters; let out their cattle for hire or draft-horses; work in their own persons as day-labourers: discover proper fords, bridges, roads, passes, and defiles; and, if artfully managed, communicate many useful hints of intelligence. If great care and circumspection be not exerted in maintaining discipline, and bridling the licentious disposition of the soldiers, such invasions will be productive of nothing but miscarriage and disgrace: for this, at best,

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best, is but a piratical way of carrying on war: and the troops engaged in it are, in some measure, debauched by the nature of the service. They are crowded together in transports, where the minute particulars of military order cannot be observed, even though the good of the service greatly depends upon a due observance of these forms. The soldiers grow negligent, and inattentive to cleanliness and the exterior ornaments of dress: they become slovenly, slothful, and altogether unfit for a return of duty: they are tumbled about occasionally in ships and boats, landed and re-embarked in a tumultuous manner, under a divided and disorderly command: they are accustomed to retire at the first report of an approaching enemy, and to take shelter on another element; nay, their small pillaging parties are often obliged to fly before unarmed peasants. Their duty on such occasions is the most unmanly part of a soldier's office; namely, to ruin, ravage, and destroy. They soon yield to the temptation of pillage, and are habituated to rapine: they give loose to intemperance, riot, and intoxication; commit a thousand excesses; and, when the enemy appears, run on board the ships with their booty. Thus the dignity of the service is debased: they lose all sense of honour and of shame; they are no longer restricted by military laws, nor over-awed by the authority of officers: in a word, they degenerate into a species of lawless Buccaneers. From such a total relaxation of morals and discipline, what can ensue but riot, confusion, dishonour and defeat? All the advantage that can be expected from these sudden starts of invasion, will scarce over-balance the evils we have mentioned, together with the extraordinary expence of equipping armaments of this nature. True it is, these descents oblige the French King to employ a considerable number of his troops for the defence of his maritime places: they serve to ruin the trade of his subjects, protect the navigation

tion of Great-Britain, and secure its coast from invasion; but these purposes might be as effectually answered, at a much smaller expence, by the shipping alone. Should it be judged expedient, however, to prosecute this desultory kind of war, the commanders employed in it will do well to consider, that a descent ought never to be hazarded in an enemy's country, without having taken proper precautions to secure a retreat; that the severest discipline ought to be preserved during all the operations of the campaign; that a General ought never to disembark but upon a well-concerted plan, nor commence his military transactions without some immediate point or object in view; that a re-embarkation ought never to be attempted, except from a clear open beach, where the approaches of an enemy may be seen, and the troops covered by the fire of their shipping. Those who presumed to reflect upon the particulars of this last expedition, owned themselves at a loss to account for the conduct of the General, in remaining on shore after the design upon St. Maloes was laid aside; in penetrating so far into the country, without any visible object; neglecting the repeated intelligence which he received; communicating, by beat of drum, his midnight motions to an enemy of double his force; loitering near seven hours in a march of three miles; and, lastly, attempting the re-embarkation of the troops at a place where no proper measures had been taken for their cover and defence. After the action of St. Cas, some civilities, by message, passed between the Duke d'Aiguillon and the English commanders, who were favoured with a list of the prisoners, including four sea-captains; and assured that the wounded should receive all possible comfort and assistance. These matters being adjusted, Commodore Howe returned with the fleet to Spithead, and the soldiers were disembarked.

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§ LI. The success of the attempt upon Cherbourg had elevated the people to a degree of childish triumph; and the government thought proper to indulge this petulant spirit of exultation, by exposing twenty-one pieces of French cannon in Hyde-park, from whence they were drawn in procession to the Tower, amidst the acclamations of the populace. From this pinnacle of elation and pride they were precipitated to the abyss of despondence or dejection, by the account of the miscarriage at St. Cas, which buoyed up the spirits of the French in the same proportion. The people of that nation began to stand in need of some such cordial after the losses they had sustained, and the ministry of Versailles did not fail to make the most of this advantage; they published a pompous narrative of the battle at St. Cas, and magnified into a mighty victory the puny check which they had given to the rear-guard of an inconsiderable detachment. The people received it with implicit belief, because it was agreeable to their passions, and congratulated themselves upon their success in hyperboles, dictated by that vivacity so peculiar to the French nation. Indeed, these are artifices which the ministers of every nation find it necessary to use at certain conjunctures, in governing the turbulent and capricious multitude. After the misfortune at St. Cas, nothing further was attempted by that armament; nor was any enterprize of importance atchieved by the British ships in Europe during the course of this summer. The cruisers, however, still continued active and alert. Captain Hervey, in the ship Monmouth, destroyed a French ship of forty guns in the island of Malta; an exploit of which the Maltese loudly complained, as a violation of their neutrality. About twenty sail of small French vessels were driven ashore on the rocks of Bretagne, by some cruisers belonging to the fleet commanded by Lord Anson, after a smart engagement with two frigates, under whose convoy they

they sailed. In the month of November the Bélliqueux, a French ship of war, mounted with sixty-four guns, having, by mistake, run up St. George's channel, and anchored in Lundy-road, Captain Saumarez, of the Antelope, then lying in Kingroad, immediately weighed and went in quest of her, according to the advice he had received. When he appeared, the French Captain heaved up his anchor, and made a show of preparing for an engagement; but soon hauled down his colours, and, without firing a shot, surrendered, with a complement of four hundred and seventeen men, to a ship of inferior force, both in number of hands and weight of metal. By this time the English privateers swarmed to such a degree in the channel, that scarce a French vessel durst quit the harbour, and consequently there was little or no booty to be obtained. In this dearth of legal prizes, some of the adventurers were tempted to commit acts of piracy, and actually rifled the ships of neutral nations. A Dutch vessel, having on board the baggage and domesticks belonging to the Marquis de Pignatelli, Ambassador from the Court of Spain to the King of Denmark, was boarded three times successively by the crews of three different privateers, who forced the hatches, rummaged the hold, broke open and rifled the trunks and boxes of the Ambassador, insulted and even cruelly bruised his officers, stripped his domesticks, and carried off his effects, together with letters of credit, and a bill of exchange. Complaints of these outrages being made to the Court of London, the Lords of the Admiralty promised, in the Gazette, a reward of five hundred pounds, without deduction, to any person who should discover the offenders concerned in these acts of piracy. Some of them were detected accordingly, and brought to condign punishment.

§ LII. The Dutch had for some time carried on a very considerable traffick, not only in taking the fair

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fair advantages of their neutrality, but also in supplying the French with naval stores, and transporting the produce of the French sugar-colonies to Europe, as carriers hired by the proprietors. The English government, incensed at this unfair commerce, prosecuted with such flagrant partiality for their enemies, issued orders for the cruisers to arrest all ships of neutral powers that should have French property on board; and these orders were executed with rigour and severity. A great number of Dutch ships were taken, and condemned as legal prizes, both in England and Jamaica: sometimes the owners met with hard measure, and some crews were treated with insolence and barbarity. The subjects of the United Provinces raised a loud clamour against the English, for having, by these captures, violated the law of nations, and the particular treaty of commerce subsisting between Great-Britain and the Republick. Remonstrances were made to the English Ministry, who expostulated, in their turn, with the Deputies of the States-General; and the two nations were inflamed against each other with the most bitter animosity. The British Resident at the Hague, in a conference with the States, represented, that the King his master could not hope to see peace speedily re-established, if the neutral Princes should assume a right of carrying on the trade of his enemies; that he expected, from their known justice, and the alliance by which they were so nearly connected with his subjects, they would honestly abandon this fraudulent commerce, and agree that naval stores should be comprehended in the class of contraband commodities. He answered some articles of the complaints they had made with an appearance of candour and moderation; declared his Majesty's abhorrence of the violences which had been committed upon the subjects of the United Provinces; explained the steps which had been taken by the English government to bring the offenders to justice, as well

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as to prevent such outrages for the future; and assured them that his Britannick Majesty had nothing more at heart than to renew and maintain, in full force, the mutual confidence and friendship by which the maritime Powers of England and Holland had been so long united.

§ LIII. These professions of esteem and affection were not sufficient to quiet the minds, and appease the resentment of the Dutch merchants: and the French party, which was both numerous and powerful, employed all their art and influence to exasperate their passions, and widen the breach between the two nations. The Court of Versailles did not fail to seize this opportunity of insinuation; while, on one hand, their ministers and emissaries in Holland exaggerated the indignities and injuries which the States had sustained from the insolence and rapacity of the English; they, on the other hand, flattered and cajoled them with little advantages in trade, and formal professions of respect. Such was the memorial delivered by the Count D'Affry, intimating that the Empress-Queen being under an absolute necessity of employing all her forces to defend her hereditary dominions in Germany, she had been obliged to withdraw her troops from Ostend and Nieuport; and applied to the French King, as her ally nearest at hand, to garrison these two places, which, however, should be restored at the peace, or sooner, should her Imperial Majesty think proper. The spirit of the Dutch merchants, at this juncture, and their sentiments with respect to England, appeared with very high colouring in a memorial to the States-General, subscribed by two hundred and sixty-nine traders, composed and presented with equal secrecy and circumspection. In this famous remonstrance they complained, that the violences and unjust depredations committed by the English ships of war and privateers on the vessels and effects of them and their fellow-subjects, were not only continued,

 but

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but daily multiplied; and cruelty and excess carried to such a pitch of wanton barbarity, that the petitioners were forced to implore the assistance of their High Mightinesses to protect, in the most efficacious manner, the commerce and navigation, which were the two sinews of the republick. For this necessary purpose they offered to contribute each his contingent, and to arm at their own charge; and other propositions were made for an immediate augmentation of the marine. While this party industriously exerted all their power and credit to effect a rupture with England, the Princess Governante employed all her interest and address to divert them from this object, and alarm them with respect to the power and designs of France; against which she earnestly exhorted them to augment their military forces by land, that they might be prepared to defend themselves against all invasion. At the same time she spared no pains to adjust the differences between her husband's country and her father's kingdom; and, without doubt, her healing councils were of great efficacy in preventing matters from coming to a very dangerous extremity.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

§ I. *Expedition against Senegal.* § II. *Fort Louis and Senegal taken.* § III. *Unsuccessful attempt upon Goree.* § IV. *Expedition to Cape Breton.* § V. *Louisbourg taken.* § VI. *And St. John's.* § VII. *Unsuccessful attempt upon Ticonderoga.* § VIII. *Fort Frontenac taken and destroyed by the English.* § IX. *Brigadier Forbes takes Fort du Quesne.* § X. *Goree taken.* § XI. *Shipwreck of Captain Barton.* § XII. *Gallant exploit of Captain Tyrrel.* § XIII. *Transactions in the East-Indies. Adm. Pococke engages the French fleet.* § XIV. *Fort St. David's taken by the French. Second engagement between Adm. Pococke and M. d'Apché.* § XV. *Progress of M. Lally.* § XVI. *Transactions on the continent of Europe.* § XVII. *King of Prussia raises contributions in Saxony, and the Dominions of the Duke of Wirtemberg.* § XVIII. *State of the armies on the continent.* § XIX. *French King changes the administration of Hanover.* § XX. *Plan of a treaty between the French King and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.* § XXI. *Treaty between the French King and the Duke of Brunswick.* § XXII. *Decree of the Aulick Council against the Elector of Hanover and others.* § XXIII. *Bremen taken by the Duke de Broglio, and retaken by Prince Ferdinand.* § XXIV. *Duke de Richelieu recalled. Generous conduct of the Duke de Randan.* § XXV. *The French abandon Hanover. Prince of Brunswick reduces Hoya and Minden.* § XXVI. *Prince Ferdinand defeats the French at Creveldt, and takes Dusseldorp.* § XXVII. *Prince of Ysembourg defeated by the Duke de Broglio.* § XXVIII. *General Imhoff defeats M. de Chevert.* § XXIX. *General Oberg defeated by the French at Landwernhagen.* § XXX. *Death of the Duke of Marlborough.* § XXXI. *Operations of the King of*

of Prussia, at the beginning of the campaign. § XXXII. *He enters Moravia, and invests Olmutz.* § XXXIII. *He is obliged to raise the siege, and retires into Bohemia, where he takes Koningsgratz.* § XXXIV. *Progress of the Russians.* § XXXV. *King of Prussia defeats the Russians at Zorndorf.* § XXXVI. *And is defeated by the Austrians at Hochkirchen.* § XXXVII. *He retires to Silesia.* § XXXVIII. *Suburbs of Dresden burnt by the Prussian governor.* § XXXIX. *King of Prussia raises the siege of Neiss, and relieves Dresden.* § XL. *Inhabitants of Saxony grievously oppressed.* § XLI. *Progress of the Swedes in Pomerania.* § XLII. *Prince Charles of Saxony elected Duke of Courland.* § XLIII. *King of England's memorial to the Diet of the Empire.* § XLIV. *Death of Pope Benedict.* § XLV. *King of Portugal assassinated.* § XLVI. *Proceedings of the French ministry.* § XLVII *Conduct of the King of Denmark.* § XLVIII. *Answers to the charges brought by the Dutch against the English cruisers.* § XLIX. *Conferences between the British Ambassador and the States-General.* § L. *Further Proceedings.*

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§ I. THE whole strength of Great-Britain, during this campaign, was not exhausted in petty descents upon the coast of France. The continent of America was the great theatre on which her chief vigour was displayed; nor did she fail to exert herself in successful efforts against the French settlements on the coast of Africa. The whole gum trade, from Cape Blanco to the river Gambia, an extent of five hundred miles, had been engrossed by the French, who built Fort Louis within the mouth of the Senegal, extending their factories near three hundred leagues up that river, and on the same coast had fortified the island of Goree, in which they maintained a considerable garrison. The gum-senega, of which a great quantity is used by the

manufacturers

manufacturers of England, being wholly in the hands of the enemy, the English dealers were obliged to buy it at second-hand from the Dutch, who purchased it of the French, and exacted an exorbitant price for that commodity. This consideration forwarded the plan for annexing the country to the possession of Great-Britain. The project was first conceived by Mr. Thomas Cumming, a sensible Quaker, who, as a private merchant, had made a voyage to Portenderrick, an adjoining part of the coast, and contracted a personal acquaintance with Amir, the Moorish King of Legibelli*. He found this African Prince extremely well disposed towards the subjects of Great-Britain, whom he publickly preferred to all other Europeans, and so exasperated against the French, that he declared he should never be easy till they were exterminnted from the river Senegal. At that very time he had commenced hostilities against them, and earnestly desired that the King of England would send out an armament to reduce Fort-Louis and Goree, with some ships of force to protect the traders. In that case, he promised to join his Britannick Majesty's forces, and grant an exclusive trade to his subjects. Mr. Cumming not only perceived the advantages that would result from such an exclusive privilege with regard to the gum, but foresaw many other important consequences of an extensive trade in a country, which, over and above the gum-senega, contains many valuable articles, such as gold dust, elephants' teeth, hides, cotton, bees-wax, slaves, ostrich feathers, indigo, ambergris, and civet. Elevated with the prospect of an acquisition so valuable to his country, this honest Quaker was equally minute and indefatigable in his enquiries touching the commerce of the coast, as well as the strength and situation of the

* The name the natives give to that part of South Barbary, known to merchants and navigators, by that of the Gum Coast, and called in maps, the Sandy Desart of Sara, and sometimes Zara.

French

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French settlements on the river Senegal; and, at his return to England, actually formed the plan of an expedition for the conquest of Fort-Louis. This was presented to the Board of Trade, by whom it was approved, after a severe examination; but it required the patriotic zeal, and invincible perseverance of Cumming, to surmount a variety of obstacles before it was adopted by the ministry; and even then it was not executed in its full extent. He was abridged of one large ship, and in lieu of six hundred land forces, to be drafted from different regiments, which he in vain demanded, first from the Duke of Cumberland, and afterwards from Lord Ligonier, the Lords of the Admiralty allotted two hundred marines only for this service. After repeated solicitation, he, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, obtained an order, that the two annual ships bound to the coast of Guinea should be joined by a sloop and two busses, and make an attempt upon the French Settlement in the river Senegal. These ships, however, were detained by contrary winds until the season was too far advanced to admit a probability of success, and therefore the design was postponed. In the beginning of the present year, Mr. Cumming being reinforced with the interest of a considerable merchant in the city, to whom he had communicated the plan, renewed his application to the ministry, and they resolved to hazard the enterprize. A small squadron was equipped for this expedition, under the command of Captain Marsh, having on board a body of marines, commanded by Major Mason, with a detachment of artillery, ten pieces of cannon, eight mortars, and a considerable quantity of warlike stores and ammunition. Captain Walker was appointed engineer; and Mr. Cumming was concerned as a principal director and promoter of the expedition*.

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* On this occasion Mr. Cumming may seem to have acted directly contrary to the tenets of his religious profession; but he ever declared

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This little armament sailed in the beginning of March; and in their passage touched at the island Teneriffe, where, while the ships supplied themselves with wine and water, Mr. Cumming proceeded in the Swan sloop to Portenderrick, being charged with a letter of credence to his old friend the King of that country, who had favoured him in his last visit with an exclusive trade on that coast, by a formal charter, written in the Arabick language. This prince was now up the country, engaged in a war with his neighbours, called the Diable Moors*; and the Queen-Dowager, who remained at Portenderrick, gave Mr. Cumming to understand, that she could not at present spare any troops to join the English in their expedition against Senegal: but she assured him, that, should the French be exterminated, she and her subjects would go thither and settle. In the mean time, one of the chiefs, called Prince Amir, dispatched a messenger to the King, with advice of their arrival and design. He declared that he would, with all possible diligence, assemble three hundred warriors to join the English troops, and, that, in his opinion, the King would reinforce them with a detachment from his army. By this time, Captain Marsh with the rest of the armament, had arrived at Portenderrick, and fearing that the enemy might receive intimation of his design, resolved to proceed on the expedition, without waiting for the promised auxiliaries. On the twenty-second day of April he

to the ministry, that he was fully persuaded his schemes might be accomplished without the effusion of human blood; and that if he thought otherwise, he would by no means have concerned himself about them. He also desired, let the consequence be what it might, his brethren should not be chargeable with what was his own single act. If it was the first military scheme of any Quaker, let it be remembered it was also the first successful expedition of this war, and one of the first that ever was carried on according to the pacifick system of the Quakers, without the loss of a drop of blood on either side.

* This is the name by which the subjects of Legibelli distinguish those of Brackna, who inhabit the country farther up the river Senegal, and are in constant alliance with the French.

weighed

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weighed anchor, and next day, at four o'clock, discovered the French flag flying upon Fort Louis, situated in the midst of a pretty considerable town, which exhibited a very agreeable appearance. The Commodore having made prize of a Dutch ship richly laden with gum, which lay at anchor without the bar, came to anchor in Senegal-road at the mouth of the river, and here he perceived several armed sloops which the enemy had detached to defend the passage of the bar, which is extremely dangerous. All the boats were employed in conveying the stores into the small craft, while three of the sloops continued exchanging fire over a narrow tongue of land with the vessels of the enemy, consisting of one brig and six armed sloops, mounted with great guns and swivels. At length, the channel being discovered, and the wind, which generally blows down the river, chopping about, Captain Millar, of the London buss, seized that opportunity; and passing the bar with a flowing sheet, dropped anchor on the inside, where he lay till night, exposed to the whole fire of the enemy. Next day he was joined by the other small vessels, and a regular engagement ensued. This was warmly maintained on both sides, until the busses and one dogger running a-ground, immediately bulged, and were filled with water. Then the troops they contained took to their boats, and with some difficulty reached the shore, where they formed in a body, and were soon joined by their companions from the other vessels; so that now the whole amounted to three hundred and ninety marines, besides the detachment of artillery. As they laid their account with being attacked by the natives, who lined the shore at some distance, seemingly determined to oppose the descent, they forthwith drew up an entrenchment, and began to disembark the stores, great part of which lay under water. While they were employed in raising this occasional defence, the negroes came in great numbers

numbers and submitted; and on the succeeding day they were reinforced by three hundred and fifty seamen, who passed the bar in sloops, with their ensigns and colours flying.

§ II. They had made no further progress in their operations, when two French deputies arrived at the entrenchment, with proposals for a capitulation from the Governor of Fort-Louis. After some hesitation, Captain Marsh and Major Mason agreed, That all the white people belonging to the French company at Senegal should be safely conducted to France in an English vessel, without being deprived of their private effects, provided all the merchandize and uncoined treasure should be delivered up to the victors; and that all the forts, storehouses, vessels, arms, provisions, and every article belonging to the company in that river, should be put into the hands of the English immediately after the capitulation could be signed. They promised that the free natives living at Fort-Louis should remain in quiet possession of their effects, and in the free exercise of their religion; and that all negroes, mulattoes, and others, who could prove themselves free, should have it in their option either to remain in the place, or remove to any other part of the country*. The Captains Campbell and Walker were immediately sent up the river with a flag of truce, to see the articles signed and executed; but they were so retarded by the rapidity of the stream, that they did not approach the fort till three in the morning. As soon as the day broke they hoisted their flag, and rowed up towards a battery on a point of the island, where they lay upon their oars very near a full hour, beating the chamade; but no notice was taken of their approach. This reserve appearing mysterious, they retired

* The victors, however, committed a very great mistake in allowing them to carry off their books and accounts, the perusal of which would have been of infinite service to the English merchants, by informing them of the commodities, their value, the proper seasons, and methods of prosecuting the trade.

down

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down the river to their entrenchment, where they understood that the negroes on the island were in arms, and had blocked up the French in Fort-Louis, resolving to defend the place to the last extremity, unless they should be included in the capitulation. This intelligence was communicated in a second letter from the Governor, who likewise informed the English commander, that unless the French director-general should be permitted to remain with the natives, as a surety for that article of the capitulation in which they were concerned, they would allow themselves to be cut in pieces rather than submit. This request being granted, the English forces began their march to Fort Louis, accompanied by a number of long boats, in which the artillery and stores had been embarked. The French seeing them advance, immediately struck their flag; and Major Mason took possession of the castle, where he found ninety-two pieces of cannon, with treasure and merchandize to a considerable value. The corporation and burghers of the town of Senegal submitted, and swore allegiance to his Britannick Majesty; the neighbouring princes, attended by numerous retinues, visited the commander, and concluded treaties with the English nation, and the King of Portenderrick, or Legibelli, sent an Ambassador from his camp to Major Mason, with presents, compliments of congratulation, and assurances of friendship. The number of free independent Negroes and Mulattoes, settled at Senegal, amounted to three thousand, and many of these enjoyed slaves and possessions of their own. The two French factories of Podore and Galam, the latter situated nine hundred miles farther up the river, were included in the capitulation; so that Great Britain, almost without striking a blow, found herself possessed of a conquest, from which, with proper management, she may derive inconceivable riches. This important acquisition was in a great measure, if not entirely, owing to the sagacity,

city, zeal, and indefatigable efforts of Mr. Cumming, who not only formed the plan, and solicited the armament, but also attended the execution of it in person, at the hazard of his life, and to the interruption of his private concerns.

§ III. Fort-Louis being secured with an English garrison, and some armed vessels left to guard the passage of the bar, at the mouth of the river, the great ships proceeded to make an attempt upon the island of Goree, which lies at the distance of thirty leagues from Senegal. There the French company had considerable magazines and warehouses, and lodged the negro slaves until they could be shipped for the West-Indies. If the additional force which Mr. Cumming proposed for the conquest of this island had been added to the armament, in all probability the island would have been reduced, and in that case, the nation would have saved the considerable expence of a subsequent expedition against it, under the conduct of Commodore Keppel. At present, the ships by which Goree was attacked were found unequal to the attempt, and the expedition miscarried accordingly, though the miscarriage was attended with little or no damage to the assailants.

§ IV. Scenes of still greater importance were acted in North-America, where, exclusive of the fleet and marines, the government had assembled about fifty thousand men, including two-and-twenty thousand regular troops. The Earl of Loudon having returned to England, the chief command in America devolved on Major-General Abercrombie; but as the objects of operation were various, the forces were divided into three detached bodies, under as many different commanders. About twelve thousand were destined to undertake the seige of Louisbourg, on the island of Cape-Breton. The general himself reserved near sixteen thousand for the reduction of Crown-Point, a fort situated on Lake Champlain: eight thousand, under the conduct of Brigadier-

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General Forbes, were allotted for the conquest of Fort du Quesne, which stood a great way to the southward, near the river Ohio; and a considerable garrison was left at Annapolis, in Nova-Scotia. The reduction of Louisbourg and the island of Cape-Breton being an object of immediate consideration, was undertaken with all possible dispatch. Major-General Amherst being joined by Admiral Boscawen, with the fleet and forces from England, the whole armament, consisting of one hundred and fifty-seven sail, took their departure from the harbour of Halifax, in Nova-Scotia, on the twenty-eighth of May; and on the second of June part of the transports anchored in the bay of Gabarus, about seven miles to the westward of Louisbourg. The garrison of this place, commanded by the Chevalier Drucour, consisted of two thousand five hundred regular troops, three hundred militia, formed of the burghers, and towards the end of the siege they were reinforced by three hundred and fifty Canadians, including threescore Indians. The harbour was secured by six ships of the line, and five frigates *, three of which the enemy sunk across the harbour's mouth, in order to render it inaccessible to the English shipping. The fortifications were in bad repair, many parts of them crumbling down the covered way, and several bastions exposed in such a manner as to be enfiladed by the besiegers, and no part of the town secure from the effects of cannonading and bombardment. The Governor had taken all the precautions in his power to prevent a landing, by establishing a chain of posts, that extended two leagues and a half along the most inaccessible parts of the beach: entrenchments were thrown up, and batteries erected; but there were some intermediate places, which could not

* The Prudent of seventy-four guns; the Entreprenant of seventy-four guns; the Capricieux, Celebre, and Bienfaisant, of sixty-four guns each; the Apollo, of fifty guns; the Chevre, Biche, Fidelle, Diana, and Echo frigates.

be

be properly secured, and in one of these the English troops were disembarked. The disposition being made for landing, a detachment, in several sloops under convoy, passed by the mouth of the harbour towards Lorembec, in order to draw the enemy's attention that way, while the landing should really be effected on the other side of the town. On the eighth day of June, the troops being assembled in the boats before day-break, in three divisions, several sloops and frigates, that were stationed along shore in the bay of Gabarus, began to scour the beach with their shot; and after the fire had continued about a quarter of an hour, the boats, containing the division on the left, were rowed towards the shore, under the command of Brigadier-General Wolfe, an accomplished officer, who, in the sequel, displayed very extraordinary proofs of military genius. At the same time the two other divisions, on the right and in the centre, commanded by the Brigadiers Whitmore and Laurence, made a show of landing, in order to divide and distract the enemy. Notwithstanding an impetuous surf, by which many boats were overset, and a very severe fire of cannon and musquetry from the enemy's batteries, which did considerable execution, Brigadier Wolfe pursued his point with admirable courage and deliberation. The soldiers leaped into the water with the most eager alacrity, and, gaining the shore, attacked the enemy in such a manner, that in a few minutes they abandoned their works and artillery, and fled in the utmost confusion. The other divisions landed also, but not without an obstinate opposition; and the stores, with the artillery, being brought on shore, the town of Louisbourg was formally invested. The difficulty of landing stores and implements in boisterous weather, and the nature of the ground, which being marshy, was unfit for the conveyance of heavy cannon, retarded the operations of the siege. Mr. Amherst made his approaches with great circumspection, securing

securing his camp with redoubts and epaulements from any attacks of Canadians, of which he imagined there was a considerable body behind him on the island, as well as from the fire of the French shipping in the harbour, which would otherwise have annoyed him extremely in his advances.

§ V. The Governor of Louisbourg having destroyed the grand battery, which was detached from the body of the place, and recalled his out-posts, prepared for making a vigorous defence. A very severe fire, well directed, was maintained against the besiegers and their works, from the town, the island battery, and the ships in the harbour; and divers sallies were made though without much effect. In the mean time Brigadier Wolfe, with a strong detachment, had marched round the north-east part of the harbour, and taken possession of the Light-house-point, where he erected several batteries against the ships and the island fortification, which last was soon silenced. On the nineteenth day of June the Echo, a French frigate, was taken by the English cruisers, after having escaped from the harbour: from the officers on board of this ship the Admiral learned that the Bizarre, another frigate, had sailed from thence on the day of the disembarkation, and the Comete had successfully followed her example. Besides the regular approaches to the town, conducted by the engineers under the immediate command and inspection of General Amherst, divers batteries were raised by the detached corps under Brigadier Wolfe, who exerted himself with amazing activity, and grievously incommoded the enemy, both of the town and the shipping. On the twenty-first day of July the three great ships, the Entreprenant, Capricieux, and Celebre, were set on fire by a bomb-shell, and burned to ashes, so that none remained but the Prudent and Bienfaisant, which the Admiral undertook to destroy. For this purpose, in the night between the twenty-fifth and twenty-

sixth

sixth days of the month, the boats of the squadron were in two divisions detached into the harbour, under the command of two young captains, Laforey and Balfour. They accordingly penetrated, in the dark, through a terrible fire of cannon and musquetry, and boarded the enemy sword in hand. The Prudent, being a-ground, was set on fire, and destroyed, but the Bienfaisant was towed out of the harbour in triumph. In the prosecution of the siege, the admiral and general co-operated with remarkable harmony; the former cheerfully assisting the latter with cannon and other implements; with detachments of marines to maintain posts on shore, with parties of seamen to act as pioneers, and concur in working the guns and mortars. The fire of the town was managed with equal skill and activity, and kept up with great perseverance; until, at length, their shipping being all taken and destroyed, the caserns * ruined in the two principal bastions, forty out of fifty-two pieces of cannon dismounted, broke, or rendered unserviceable, and divers practicable breaches effected, the Governor, in a letter to Mr. Amherst, proposed a capitulation on the same articles that were granted to the English at Port-Mahon. In answer to this proposal he was given to understand, that he and his garrison must surrender themselves prisoners of war, otherwise he might next morning expect a general assault by the shipping under Admiral Boscawen. The Chevalier Drucour, piqued at the severity of these terms, replied, that he would, rather than comply with them, stand an assault; but the Commissary-general, and intendant of the colony, presented a petition from the traders and inhabitants

* It may not be amiss to observe, that a cavalier, which Admiral Knowles had built at an enormous expence to the nation, while Louisbourg remained in the hands of the English in the last war, was, in the course of this siege, entirely demolished by two or three shots from one of the British batteries: so admirably had this piece of fortification been contrived and executed, under the eye of that profound engineer.

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of the place, in consequence of which he submitted. On the twenty-seventh day of July three companies of grenadiers, commanded by Major Farquhar, took possession of the western gate; and Brigadier Whitmore was detached into the town, to see the garrison lay down their arms, and deliver up their colours on the esplanade, and to post the necessary guards on the stores, magazines, and ramparts. Thus, at the expence of about four hundred men killed and wounded, the English obtained possession of the important island of Cape-Breton, and the strong town of Louisbourg, in which the victors found two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, with eighteen mortars, and a considerable quantity of stores and ammunition. The merchants and inhabitants were sent to France in English bottoms; but the garrison, together with the sea-officers, marines, and mariners, amounting in all to five thousand six hundred and thirty-seven prisoners, were transported to England. The loss of Louisbourg was the more severely felt by the French King, as it had been attended with the destruction of so many considerable ships and frigates. The particulars of this transaction were immediately brought to England, in a vessel dispatched for that purpose, with Captain Amherst, brother to the commander, who was also entrusted with eleven pair of colours taken at Louisbourg: these were, by his Majesty's order, carried in pompous parade, escorted by detachments of horse and foot guards, with kettle drums and trumpets, from the palace of Kensington to St. Paul's cathedral, where they were deposited as trophies, under a discharge of cannon, and other noisy expressions of triumph and exultation. Indeed, the publick rejoicings for the conquest of Louisbourg were diffused through every part of the British dominions, and addresses of congratulation were presented to the King by a great number of flourishing towns and corporations.

§ VI.

§ VI. After the reduction of Cape-Breton, some ships were detached, with a body of troops under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Rollo, to take possession of the island of St. John, which also lies in the Gulph of St. Laurence, and, by its fertility in corn and cattle, had, since the beginning of the war, supplied Quebeck with considerable quantities of provision. It was likewise the asylum to which the French neutrals of Annapolis fled for shelter from the English government; and the retreat from whence they and the Indians used to make their sudden irruptions into Nova-Scotia, where they perpetrated the most inhuman barbarities on the defenceless subjects of Great-Britain. The number of inhabitants amounted to four thousand one hundred, who submitted and brought in their arms; then Lord Rollo took possession of the Governor's quarters, where he found several scalps of Englishmen, whom the savages had assassinated, in consequence of the encouragement they received from their French patrons and allies, who gratified them with a certain premium for every scalp they produced. The island was stocked with above ten thousand head of black cattle, and some of the farmers raised each twelve hundred bushels of corn annually for the market of Quebeck.

§ VII. The joy and satisfaction arising from the conquest of Louisbourg and St. John, was not a little checked by the disaster which befel the main body of the British forces in America, under the immediate conduct of General Abercrombie, who, as we have already observed, had proposed the reduction of the French forts on the Lakes George and Champlain, as the chief objects of his enterprize, with a view to secure the frontier of the British colonies, and open a passage for the future conquest of Canada. In the beginning of July his forces, amounting to near seven thousand regular troops, and ten thousand provincials, embarked on the Lake

 George,

George, in the neighbourhood of Lake Champlain, on board of nine hundred batteaus, and one hundred and thirty-five whale-boats, with provision, artillery, and ammunition; several pieces of cannon being mounted on rafts to cover the purposed landing, which was next day effected without opposition. The General's design was to invest Ticonderoga, a fort situated on a tongue of land, extending between Lake George and a narrow gut that communicates with Lake Champlain. This fortification was, on three sides, surrounded with water, and in front nature had secured it with a morass. The English troops being disembarked, were immediately formed into three columns, and began their march to the enemy's advanced post, consisting of one battalion, encamped behind a breast-work of logs, which they now abandoned with precipitation, after having set them on fire, and burned their tents and implements. The British forces continued their march in the same order; but the route lying through a thick wood that did not admit of any regular progression or passage, and the guides proving extremely ignorant, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broken by falling in one upon another. Lord Howe being advanced at the head of the right centre column, encountered a French detachment who had likewise lost their way in the retreat from the advanced post, and, a warm skirmish ensuing, the enemy were routed with considerable loss, a good number were killed, and one hundred and forty-eight were taken prisoners, including five officers. This petty advantage was dearly bought with the loss of Lord Howe, who fell in the beginning of the action, unspeakably regretted as a young nobleman of the most promising talents, who had distinguished himself in a peculiar manner by his courage, activity, and rigid observation of military discipline, and had acquired the esteem and affection of the soldiery by his generosity, sweetness of manners, and engaging address.

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The General, perceiving the troops were greatly fatigued and disordered from want of rest and refreshment, thought it adviseable to march back to the landing-place, which they reached about eight in the morning. Then he detached Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet, with one regular regiment, six companies of the Royal Americans, with the batteau-men, and a body of rangers, to take possession of a saw-mill in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, which the enemy had abandoned. This post being secured, the General advanced again towards Ticonderoga, where, he understood from the prisoners, the enemy had assembled eight battalions, with a body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in all to six thousand. These, they said, being encamped before the fort, were employed in making a formidable entrenchment, where they intended to wait for a reinforcement of three thousand men, who had been detached under the command of M. de Levi, to make a diversion on the side of the Mohawk river *; but, upon intelligence of Mr. Abercrombie's approach, were now recalled for the defence of Ticonderoga. This information determined the English General to strike, if possible, some decisive stroke before the junction could be effected. He, therefore, early next morning sent his engineer across the river on the opposite side of the fort, to reconnoitre the enemy's entrenchments; and he reported, that the works being still unfinished, might be attempted with a good prospect of success. A disposition was made accordingly for the attack, and, after proper guards had been left at the saw-mill and the landing-place, the whole army was put in motion. They advanced with great alacrity to-

* This officer intended to have made an irruption through the pass of Oneida on the Mohawk river, but was recalled before he could execute his design. General Abercrombie afterwards sent thither Brigadier Stanwix, with a considerable body of Provincials; and this important pass was secured by a fort built at that juncture.

 wards

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wards the entrenchment, which, however, they found altogether impracticable. The breast-work was raised eight feet high, and the ground before it covered with an abbattis, or felled trees, with their boughs pointing outwards, and projecting in such a manner as to render the entrenchment almost inaccessible. Notwithstanding these discouraging difficulties, the British troops marched up to the assault with an undaunted resolution, and sustained a terrible fire without flinching. They endeavoured to cut their way through these embarrassments with their swords, and some of them even mounted the parapet; but the enemy were so well covered, that they could deliberately direct their fire without the least danger to themselves: the carnage was therefore considerable, and the troops began to fall into confusion, after several repeated attacks, which lasted above four hours, under the most disadvantageous circumstances. The General, by this time, saw plainly that no hope of success remained; and, in order to prevent a total defeat, took measures for the retreat of the army, which retired unmolested to their former camp, with the loss of about eighteen hundred men killed or wounded, including a great number of officers. Every corps of regular troops behaved, on this unfortunate occasion, with remarkable intrepidity; but the greatest loss was sustained by Lord John Murray's Highland regiment, of which above one half of the private men, and twenty-five officers, were either slain upon the spot, or desperately wounded. Mr. Abercrombie, unwilling to stay in the neighbourhood of the enemy with forces which had received such a dispiriting check, retired to his batteaus, and, re-embarking the troops, returned to the camp at Lake George, from whence he had taken his departure. Censure, which always attends miscarriage, did not spare the character of this commander: his attack was condemned as rash, and his retreat as pusillanimous. In such

such case allowances must be made for the peevishness of disappointment, and the clamour of connection. How far Mr. Abercrombie acquitted himself in the duty of a General, we shall not pretend to determine; but if he could depend upon the courage and discipline of his forces, he surely had nothing to fear, after the action, from the attempts of the enemy, to whom he would have been superior in number, even though they had been joined by the expected reinforcement: he might, therefore, have remained on the spot, in order to execute some other enterprise when he should be reinforced in his turn; for General Amherst no sooner heard of his disaster than he returned with the troops from Cape-Breton to New-England, after having left a strong garrison in Louisbourg. At the head of six regiments he began his march to Albany, about the middle of September, in order to join the forces on the lake, that they might undertake some other service before the season should be exhausted.

§ VIII. In the mean time, General Abercrombie had detached Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet, with a body of three thousand men, chiefly Provincials, to execute a plan which this officer had formed against Cadaraqui, or Fort Frontenac, situated on the north side of the river St. Laurence, just where it takes its origin from the Lake Ontario. To the side of this lake he penetrated with his detachment, and embarking in some sloops and batteaux, provided for the purpose, landed within a mile of Fort Frontenac, the garrison of which, consisting of one hundred and ten men, with a few Indians, immediately surrendered at discretion. Considering the importance of this post, which, in a great measure, commanded the mouth of the river St. Laurence, and served as a magazine to the more southern castles, the French General was inexcusable for leaving it in such a defenceless condition. The fortification itself

was

BOOK III. 1758. was inconsiderable and ill contrived; nevertheless, it contained sixty pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, with an immense quantity of merchandize and provisions, deposited for the use of the French forces detached against Brigadier Forbes, their western garrisons, and Indian allies, as well as for the subsistence of the corps commanded by M. de Levi, on his enterprize against the Mohawk river. Mr. Bradstreet not only reduced the fort without bloodshed, but also made himself master of all the enemy's shipping on the lake, amounting to nine armed vessels, some of which carried eighteen guns. Two of these Mr. Bradstreet conveyed to Oswego, whither he returned with his troops, after he had destroyed Fort Frontenac, with all the artillery, stores, provision, and merchandize which it contained. In consequence of this exploit, the French troops to the southward were exposed to the hazard of starving; but it is not easy to conceive the General's reason for giving orders to abandon and destroy a fort, which, if properly strengthened and sustained, might have rendered the English masters of the Lake Ontario, and grievously harassed the enemy, both in their commerce, and expeditions to the westward. Indeed, great part of the Indian trade centered at Frontenac, to which place the Indians annually repaired from all parts of America, some of them at the distance of a thousand miles, and here exchanged their furs for European commodities. So much did the French traders excel the English in the art of conciliating the affection of those savage tribes, that great part of them, in their yearly progress to this remote market, actually passed by the British settlement of Albany, in New-York, where they might have been supplied with what articles they wanted, much more cheap than they could purchase them at Frontenac or Montreal; nay, the French traders used to furnish themselves with these very commodities from the merchants of New-

New-York, and found this traffick much more profitable than that of procuring the same articles from France, loaded with the expence of a tedious and dangerous navigation, from the sea to the source of the river St. Laurence.

§ IX. In all probability, the destruction of Frontenac facilitated the expedition against Fort du Quesne, entrusted to the conduct of Brigadier Forbes, who, with his little army, began his march in the beginning of July from Philadelphia for the river Ohio, a prodigious tract of country very little known, destitute of military roads, incumbered with mountains, morasses, and woods, that were almost impenetrable. It was not without incredible exertion of industry, that he procured provisions and carriages for this expedition, formed new roads, extended scouting parties, secured camps, and surmounted many other difficulties in the course of his tedious march, during which he was also harassed by small detachments of the enemy's Indians. Having penetrated with the main body as far as Ray's-Town, at the distance of ninety miles from Fort du Quesne, and advanced Colonel Bouquet, with two thousand men, about fifty miles farther, to a place called Lyal-Henning, this officer detached Major Grant, at the head of eight hundred men, to reconnoitre the fort and its out-works. The enemy perceiving him approach, sent a body of troops against him, sufficient to surround his whole detachment: a very severe action began, which the English maintained with their usual courage for three hours, against cruel odds; but at length, being overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to give way, and retired in disorder to Lyal Henning, with the loss of about three hundred men killed or taken, including Major Grant, who was carried prisoner to Fort du Quesne, and nineteen officers. Notwithstanding this mortifying check, Brigadier Forbes advanced with the army, resolved to prosecute

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cute his operations with vigour; but the enemy, dreading the prospect of a siege, dismantled and abandoned the fort, and retired down the river Ohi, to their settlements on the Mississippi. They quitted the fort on the twenty-fourth day of November, and next day it was possessed by the British forces. As for the Indians of this country, they seemed heartily to renounce their connections with France, and be perfectly reconciled to the government of his Britannick Majesty. Brigadier Forbes having repaired the fort, changed its name from Du Quesne to Pittsburgh, secured it with a garrison of Provincials, and concluded treaties of friendship and alliance with the Indian tribes. Then he marched back to Philadelphia, and in his retreat built a blockhouse, near Lyal-Henning, for the defence of Pennsylvania; but he himself did not long survive these transactions, his constitution having been exhausted by the incredible fatigues of the service. Thus have we given a particular detail of all the remarkable operations by which this campaign was distinguished on the continent of America; the reader will be convinced that, notwithstanding the defeat at Ticonderoga, and the disaster of the advanced party in the neighbourhood of Fort du Quesne, the arms of Great-Britain acquired many important advantages; and, indeed, paved the way for the reduction of Quebeck, and conquest of all Canada. In the mean time, the Admirals Boscawen and Hardy, having left a considerable squadron at Halifax, in Nova Scotia, returned with four ships of the line to England, where they arrived in the beginning of November, after having given chace to six large French ships, which they descried to the westward of Scilly, but could not overtake or bring to an engagement.

§ X. The conquest of the French settlement in the river Senegal being deemed imperfect and incomplete,

incomplete, whilst France still kept possession of the island of Goree, the ministry of Great-Britain resolved to crown the campaign in Africa with the reduction of that fortress. For this purpose Commodore Keppel, brother to the Earl of Albemarle, was vested with the command of a squadron, consisting of four ships of the line, several frigates, two bomb-ketches, and some transports, having on board seven hundred men of the regular troops, commanded by Colonel Worge, and embarked in the harbour of Cork in Ireland, from whence this whole armament took their departure on the eleventh day of November. After a tempestuous passage, in which they touched at the isle of Teneriffe, they arrived at Goree in the latter end of December, and the Commodore made a disposition for attacking this island, which was remarkably strong by nature, but very indifferently fortified. Goree is a small barren island, extending about three quarters of a mile in length, of a triangular form; and on the south-west side rising into a rocky hill, on which the paltry fort of St. Michael is situated. There is another, still more inconsiderable, called St. Francis, towards the other extremity of the island; and several batteries were raised around its sweep, mounted with about one hundred pieces of cannon, and four mortars. The French governor, M. de St. Jean, had great plenty of ammunition, and his garrison amounted to about three hundred men, exclusive of as many negro inhabitants. The flat-bottomed boats, for disembarking the troops, being hoisted out, and disposed along-side of the different transports, the Commodore stationed his ships on the west side of the island, and the engagement began with a shell from one of the ketches. This was a signal for the great ships, which poured in their broadsides without intermission, and the fire was returned with equal vivacity from all the batteries of the island. In the course of the action the cannonading

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nonading from the ships became so severe and terrible, that the French garrison deserted their quarters, in spite of all the efforts of the governor, who acquitted himself like a man of honour; but he was obliged to strike his colours, and surrender at discretion, after a short but warm dispute, in which the loss of the British Commodore did not exceed one hundred men killed and wounded. The success of the day was the more extraordinary, as the French garrison had not lost a man, except one negro killed by the bursting of a bomb-shell, and the number of their wounded was very inconsiderable. While the attack lasted, the opposite shore of the continent was lined with a concourse of negroes, assembled to view the combat, who expressed their sentiments and surprise in loud clamour and uncouth gesticulations, and seemed to be impressed with awe and astonishment at the power and execution of the British squadron. The French colours being struck, as a signal of submission, the Commodore sent a detachment of marines on shore, who disarmed the garrison, and hoisted the British flag upon the castle of St. Michael. In the mean time, the Governor and the rest of the prisoners were secured among the shipping. Thus the important island of Goree fell into the hands of the English, together with two trading vessels that chanced to be at anchor in the road, and stores, money, and merchandize, to the value of twenty thousand pounds. Part of the troops being left in garrison at Goree, under the command of Major Newton, together with three sloops for his service, the squadron being watered and refreshed from the continent, that part of which is governed by one of the Jalof kings, and the prisoners, with their baggage, being dismissed in three cartel ships to France, the Commodore set sail for Senegal, and reinforced Fort-Louis with the rest of the troops, under Colonel Worge, who was at this juncture favoured with a visit by the King of Legibelli:

Legibelli: but very little pains were taken to dismiss this potentate in good humour, or maintain the disposition he professed to favour the commerce of Great-Britain. True it is, he was desirous of engaging the English in his quarrels with some neighbouring nations; and such engagements were cautiously and politically avoided, because it was the interest of Great-Britain to be upon good terms with every African Prince who could promote and extend the commerce of her subjects.

§ XI. Commodore Keppel having reduced Goree, and reinforced the garrison of Senegal, returned to England, where all his ships arrived, after a very tempestuous voyage, in which the squadron had been dispersed. This expedition, however successful in the main, was attended with one misfortune, the loss of the Lichfield ship of war, commanded by Captain Barton, which, together with one transport and a bomb-tender, was wrecked on the coast of Barbary, about nine leagues to the northward of Saffy, in the dominions of Morocco. One hundred and thirty men, including several officers, perished on this occasion; but the captain and the rest of the company, to the number of two hundred and twenty, made shift to reach the shore, where they ran the risque of starving, and were cruelly used by the natives, although a treaty of peace at that time subsisted between Great-Britain and Morocco; nay, they were even enslaved by the Emperor, who detained them in captivity until they were ransomed by the British government: so little dependance can be placed on the faith of such barbarian Princes, with whom it is even a disgrace for any civilised nation to be in alliance, whatever commercial advantages may arise from the connection.

§ XII. The incidents of the war that happened in the West-Indies, during these occurrences, may be reduced to a small compass. Nothing extraordinary was achieved in the neighbourhood of Jamaica,

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Jamaica, where Admiral Coates commanded a small squadron, from which he detached cruisers occasionally for the protection of the British commerce; and at Antigua the trade was effectually secured by the vigilance of Captain Tyrrel, whose courage and activity were equal to his conduct and circumspection. In the month of March, this gentleman, with his own ship, the Buckingham, and the Cambridge, another of the line, demolished a fort on the island of Martinique, and destroyed four privateers riding under its protection; but his valour appeared much more conspicuous in a subsequent engagement, which happened in the month of November. Being detached on a cruise in his own ship, the Buckingham, by Commodore Moore, who commanded at the Leeward Islands, he fell in with the Weazle sloop, commanded by Captain Boles between the islands of Montserrat and Guadaloupe, and immediately discovered a fleet of nineteen sail, under convoy of a French ship of war carrying seventy-four cannon, and two large frigates. Captain Tyrrel immediately gave chace with all the sail he could carry, and the Weazle running close to the enemy, received a whole broadside from the large ship, which, however, she sustained without much damage: nevertheless, Mr. Tyrrel ordered her commander to keep aloof, as he could not be supposed able to bear the shock of large metal, and he himself prepared for the engagement. The enemy's large ship, the Florissant, though of much greater force than the Buckingham, instead of lying-to for his coming up, made a running fight with her stern-chace, while the two frigates annoyed him in his course, sometimes raking him fore and aft, and sometimes lying on his quarter. At length he came along-side of the Florissant, within pistol-shot, and poured in a whole broadside, which did considerable execution. The salutation was returned with equal vivacity, and a furious engagement ensued.

sued. Captain Tyrrel was wounded in the face, and lost three fingers of his right hand; so that, being entirely disabled, he was obliged to delegate the command of the ship to his first lieutenant, Mr. Marshal, who continued the battle with great gallantry until he lost his life: then the charge devolved to the second lieutenant who acquitted himself with equal honour, and sustained a desperate fight against three ships of the enemy. The officers and crew of the Buckingham exerted themselves with equal vigour and deliberation, and Captain Troy, who commanded a detachment of Marines on the poop, plied his small arms so effectually, as to drive the French from their quarters. At length confusion, terror, and uproar prevailing on board the Florissant, her firing ceased, and her colours were hauled down about twilight: but her commander perceiving that the Buckingham was too much damaged in her rigging to pursue in any hope of success, ordered all his sails to be set, and fled in the dark with his two consorts. Nothing but this circumstance could have prevented a British ship of sixty-five guns, indifferently manned in respect to number, from taking a French ship of the line, mounted with seventy-four pieces of cannon, provided with seven hundred men, and assisted by two large frigates, one of thirty-eight guns, and the other wanting two of this number. The loss of the Buckingham, in this action, did not exceed twenty men killed and wounded; whereas the number of the slain on board the Florissant did not fall short of one hundred and eighty, and that of her wounded is said to have exceeded three hundred. She was so disabled in her hull, that she could hardly be kept afloat until she reached Martinique, where she was repaired; and the largest frigate, together with the loss of forty men, received such damage as to be for some time quite unserviceable.

§ XIII.

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§ XIII. In the East-Indies the transactions of the war were chequered with a variety of success; but, on the whole, the designs of the enemy were entirely defeated. The French commander, M. de Bussy, had, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, quarrelled with Salabatzing, viceroy of Decan, because this last would not put him in possession of the fortress of Golconda. In the course of the next year, while the English forces were employed in Bengal, M. de Bussy made himself master of the British Factories of Ingeram, Bandermalanka, and Vizagapatam, and the reduction of this last left the enemy in possession of the whole coast of Coromandel, from Ganjam to Massulapatam. While a body of the English company's forces, under Captain Caillaud, endeavoured to reduce the important fortress and town of Madura, the French, under M. D'Anteuil, invested Trichinopoly. Caillaud no sooner received intelligence of the danger to which this place was exposed, than he hastened to its relief, and obliged the enemy to abandon the siege. Then he returned to Madura, and, after an unsuccessful assault, made himself master of it by capitulation. During these transactions, Colonel Forde made an attempt on the fort of Nelloure, a strong place, at the distance of twenty-four miles from Madras, but miscarried; and this was also the fate of an expedition against Wandewash, undertaken by Colonel Aldercron. The first was repulsed in storming the place, the other was anticipated by the French army, which marched from Pondicherry to the relief of the garrison. The French king had sent a considerable reinforcement to the East-Indies, under the command of General Lally, an officer of Irish extraction, together with such a number of ships as rendered the squadron of M. d'Apché superior to that of Admiral Pococke, who had succeeded Admiral Watson, lately deceased, in the command of the English squadron stationed on the coast of Coromandel,

Coromandel, which, in the beginning of this year, was reinforced from England with several ships, under the direction of Commodore Steevens. Immediately after this junction, which was effected in the road of Madras on the twenty-fourth day of March, Admiral Pococke, who had already signalized himself by his courage, vigilance, and conduct, sailed to windward, with a view to intercept the French squadron, of which he had received intelligence. In two days he descried in the road of Fort St. David the enemy's fleet, consisting of nine ships, which immediately stood out to sea, and formed the line of battle a-head. The Admiral took the same precaution, and bearing down upon M. d'Apché, the engagement began about three in the afternoon. The French Commodore, having sustained a warm action for about two hours, bore away with his whole fleet, and being joined by two ships, formed a line of battle again to leeward. Admiral Pococke's own ship and some others, being greatly damaged in their masts and rigging, two of his captains having misbehaved in the action, and night coming on, he did not think it adviseable to pursue them with all the sail he could carry; but, nevertheless, he followed them at a proper distance, standing to the south-west, in order to maintain the weather-gage, in case he should be able to renew the action in the morning. In this expectation, however, he was disappointed: the enemy showed no lights, nor made any signals that could be observed; and in the morning not the least vestige of them appeared. Mr. Pococke, on the supposition that they had weathered them in the night, endeavoured to work up after him to windward; but finding he lost ground considerably, he dropped anchor about three leagues to the northward of Sadras, and received intelligence from the chief of that settlement, that one of the largest French ships, having been disabled in the engagement, was run ashore to the southward of Alemparve, where their whole squadron

squadron lay at anchor. Such was the issue of the first action between the English and French squadrons in the East-Indies, which, over and above the loss of a capital ship, is said to have cost the enemy about five hundred men, whereas the British Admiral did not lose one fifth part of that number. Being dissatisfied with the behaviour of three captains, he, on his return to Madras, appointed a Court-Martial to enquire into their conduct: two were dismissed from the service, and the third was sentenced to lose one year's rank as a post-captain.

§ XIV. In the mean time Mr. Lally had disembarked his troops at Pondicherry, and taking the field, immediately invested the fort of St. David, while the squadron blocked it up by sea. Two English ships being at anchor in the road when the enemy arrived, their captains seeing no possibility of escaping, ran them on shore, set them on fire, and retired with their men into the fortress, which, however, was in a few days surrendered. A much more resolute defence was expected from the courage and conduct of Major Polier, who commanded the garrison. When he arrived at Madras he was subjected to a Court of Enquiry, which acquitted him of cowardice, but were of opinion that the place might have held out much longer, and that the terms on which it surrendered were shameful, as the enemy were not even masters of the outward covered way, as they had made no breach, and had a wet ditch to fill up and pass, before the town could have been properly assaulted. Polier, in order to wipe off this disgrace, desired to serve as a volunteer, with Colonel Draper, and was mortally wounded in a sally at the siege of Madras. Admiral Pococke having, to the best of his power, repaired his shattered ships, set sail again on the tenth of May, in order to attempt the relief of Fort St. David's; but notwithstanding his utmost endeavours, he could not reach it in time to be of any service. On the thirtieth day of the

month

month he came in sight of Pondicherry, from whence the French squadron stood away early next morning, nor was it in his power to come up with them, though he made all possible efforts for that purpose. Then receiving intelligence that Fort St. David's was surrendered to the enemy, he returned again to Madras, in order to refresh his squadron. On the twenty-fifth day of July, he sailed a third time in quest of M. d'Apché, and in two days perceived his squadron, consisting of eight ships of the line and a frigate, at anchor in the road of Pondicherry. They no sooner descried him advancing than they stood out to sea as before, and he continued to chace, in hopes of bringing them to an engagement; but all his endeavours proved fruitless till the third day of August, when, having obtained the weather-gage, he bore down upon them in order of battle. The engagement began with great impetuosity on both sides; but in little more than ten minutes M. d'Apché set his fore-sail, and bore away, his whole squadron following his example, and maintaining a running fight in a very irregular line. The British Admiral then hoisted the signal for a general chace, which the enemy perceiving, thought proper to cut away their boats, and crowd with all the sail they could carry. They escaped, by favour of the night into the road of Pondicherry, and Mr. Pococke anchored with his squadron off Carical, a French settlement, having thus obtained an undisputed victory, with the loss of thirty men killed, and one hundred and sixteen wounded, including Commodore Steevens and Captain Martin, though their wounds were not dangerous. The number of killed and wounded on board the French squadron amounted, according to report, to five hundred and forty; and their fleet was so much damaged, that in the beginning of September their Commodore sailed for the island of Bourbon, in the same latitude with

 Madagascar,

Madagascar, in order to refit; thus leaving the command and sovereignty of the Indian seas to the English Admiral, whose fleet, from the beginning of this campaign, had been much inferior to the French squadron in number of ships and men, as well as in weight of metal.

§ XV. Mr. Lally having reduced Cuddalore and Fort St. David's *, resolved to extort a sum of money from the King of Tanjour, on pretence that, in the last war, he had granted an obligation to the French governor for a certain sum, which had never been paid. Lally accordingly marched with a body of three thousand men into the dominions of Tanjour, and demanded seventy-two lacks of rupees. This extravagant demand being rejected, he plundered Nagare, a trading town on the sea-coast, and afterwards invested the capital: but after he had prosecuted the siege till a breach was made, his provisions and ammunition beginning to fail, several vigorous sallies being made by the forces of the King of Tanjour, and the place well defended by European gunners, sent from the English garrison at Trichinopoly, he found himself obliged to raise the siege and retreat with precipitation, leaving his cannon behind. He arrived at Carical about the middle of August, and from thence retired to Pondicherry towards the end of September. He afterwards cantoned his troops in the province of Arcot, entered the city without opposition, and began to make preparations for the siege of Madras, which shall be recorded among the incidents of the succeeding year. In the mean time, the land-forces belonging to the East-India Company were so much out-numbered by the reinforcements which arrived with Mr. Lally, that they could not pretend to keep the field, but

* Cuddalore was in such a defenceless condition, that it could make no resistance; and there being no place in Fort St. David's bomb-proof, nor any provisions or fresh water, the garrison surrendered in twelve days, on capitulation, after having sustained a severe bombardment.

were

were obliged to remain on the defensive, and provide as well as they could for the security of Fort St. George, and the other settlements in that part of India.

§ XVI. Having particularized the events of the war which distinguished this year in America, Africa, and Asia, those remote scenes in which the interest of Great-Britain was immediately and intimately concerned, it now remains to record the incidents of the military operations in Germany, supported by British subsidies, and enforced by British troops, to favour the abominable designs of an ally, from whose solitary friendship the British nation can never reap any solid benefit; and to defend a foreign Elector, in whose behalf she had already lavished an immensity of treasure. Notwithstanding the bloodshed and ravages which had signalised the former campaign, the mutual losses of the belligerent powers, the incredible expence of money, the difficulty of recruiting armies thinned by sword and distemper, the scarcity of forage and provision, the distresses of Saxony in particular, and the calamities of war, which desolated the greatest part of the empire, no proposition of peace was hinted by either of the parties concerned; but the powers at variance seemed to be exasperated against each other with the most implacable resentment. Jarring interests were harmonized, old prejudices rooted up, inveterate jealousies assuaged, and even inconsistencies reconciled in connecting the confederacy which was now formed and established against the King of Prussia; and, on the other hand, the King of Great-Britain seemed determined to employ the whole power and influence of his crown in supporting this Monarch. Yet the members of the grand confederacy were differently actuated by disagreeing motives, which, in the sequel, operated for the preservation of his Prussian Majesty, by preventing the full exertion of their united strength. The Empress-Queen, over and

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above her desire of retrieving Silesia, which was her primary aim, gave way to the suggestions of personal hatred and revenge, to the gratification of which she may be said to have sacrificed, in some measure the interests of her family, as well as the repose of the Empire, by admitting the natural enemies of her House into the Austrian Netherlands, and inviting them to invade the dominions of her co-estates, with a formidable army. France, true to her old political maxims, wished to see the House of Austria weakened by the divisions in the Empire, which she accordingly fomented: for this reason it could not be her interest to effect the ruin of the House of Brandenburgh; and therefore she had, no doubt, set bounds to the prosecution of her schemes in concert with the Court of Vienna; but her designs against Hanover amounted to absolute conquest: in pursuance of these, she sent an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men across the Rhine, instead of four-and-twenty thousand, which she had engaged to furnish by the original treaty with the Empress-Queen of Hungary, who is said to have shared in the spoils of the electorate. The Czarina, by co-operating with the Houses of Bourbon and Austria, gratified her personal disgust towards the Prussian Monarch, augmented her finances by considerable subsidies from both, and perhaps amused herself with the hope of obtaining an establishment in the German Empire; but whether she wavered in her own sentiments, or her ministry fluctuated between the promises of France and the presents of Great-Britain, certain it is, her forces had not acted with vigour in Pomerania; and her General Apraxin, instead of prosecuting his advantage, had retreated immediately after the Prussians miscarried in their attack. He was indeed disgraced, and tried for having thus retired without orders; but, in all probability this trial was no other than a farce, acted to amuse the other confederates, while the Empress of Russia

Russia gained time to deliberate upon the offers that were made, and determine with regard to the advantages or disadvantages that might accrue to her from persevering in the engagements which she had contracted. As for the Swedes, although they had been instigated to hostilities against Prussia by the intrigues of France, and flattered with hopes of retrieving Pomerania, they prosecuted the war in such a dispirited and ineffectual manner, as plainly proved that either the ancient valour of that people was extinct, or that the nation was not heartily engaged in the quarrel.

§ XVII. When the Russian General Apraxin retreated from Pomerania, Mareschal Lehwald, who commanded the Prussians in that country, was left at liberty to turn his arms against the Swedes, and accordingly drove them before him almost without opposition. By the beginning of January they had evacuated all Prussian Pomerania, and Lehwald invaded their dominions in his turn. He, in a little time, made himself master of all Swedish Pomerania, except Stralsund and the isle of Rugen, and possessed himself of several magazines which the enemy had erected. The Austrian army, after their defeat at Breslau, had retired into Bohemia, where they were cantoned, the head-quarters being fixed at Koninsgratz. The King of Prussia having cleared all his part of Silesia, except the town of Schweidnitz, which he circumscribed with a blockade, sent detachments from his army cantoned in the neighbourhood of Breslau, to penetrate into the Austrian or southern part of Silesia, where they surprized Troppau and Jaggernsdorf, while he himself remained at Breslau, entertaining his officers with concerts of musick. Not that he suffered these amusements to divert his attention from subjects of greater importance. He laid Swedish Pomerania under contribution, and made a fresh demand of five hundred thousand crowns from the electorate of Saxony.

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Saxony. Having received intimation that the Duke of Mecklenbourg was employed in providing magazines for the French army, he detached a body of troops into that country, who not only secured the magazines, but levied considerable contributions; and the Duke retired to Lubeck, attended by the French minister. The States of Saxony having proved a little dilatory in obeying his Prussian Majesty's injunction, received a second intimation, importing, that they should levy and deliver, within a certain time, eighteen thousand recruits for his army, pay into the hands of his commissary one year's revenue of the electorate in advance; and Leipzick was taxed with an extraordinary subsidy of eight hundred thousand crowns, on pain of military execution. The States were immediately convoked at Leipzick, in order to deliberate on these demands; and the city being unable to pay such a considerable sum, the Prussian troops began to put their Monarch's threats in execution. He justified these proceedings, by declaring that the enemy had practised the same violence and oppression on the territories of his allies; but how the practice of his declared enemies, in the countries which they had invaded and subdued in the common course of war, should justify him in pillaging and oppressing a people, with whom neither he nor his allies were at war, it is not easy to conceive. As little can we reconcile this conduct to the character of a Prince, assuming the title of Protector of the Protestant Religion, which is the established faith among those very Saxons who were subjected to such grievous impositions; impositions the more grievous and unmerited, as they had never taken any share in the present war, but cautiously avoided every step that might be construed into provocation, since the King of Prussia declared they might depend upon his protection.

§ XVIII. Before we proceed to enumerate the events of the campaign, it may be necessary to inform

form the reader, that the forces brought into the field by the Empress-Queen of Hungary, and the States of the Empire, the Czarina, the Kings of France and Sweden, fell very little short of three hundred thousand men; and all these were destined to act against the King of Prussia and the Elector of Hanover. In opposition to this formidable confederacy, his Prussian Majesty was, by the subsidy from England, the spoils of Saxony, and the revenues of Brandenburgh, enabled to maintain an army of one hundred and forty thousand men; while the Elector of Hanover assembled a body of sixty thousand men, composed of his own electoral troops, with the auxiliary mercenaries of Hesse-Cassel, Buckebourge, Saxegotha, and Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, all of them maintained by the pay of Great-Britain. At this juncture, indeed, there was no other fund for their subsistence, as the countries of Hanover and Hesse were possessed by the enemy, and in the former the government was entirely changed.

§ XIX. In the month of December in the preceding year, a farmer of the revenues from Paris arrived at Hanover, where he established his office, in order to act by virtue of powers from one John Faidy, to whom the French King granted the direction, receipt, and administration of all the duties and revenues of the electorate. This director was, by a decree of the Council of State, empowered to receive the revenues, not only of Hanover, but also of all other countries that should be subjected to his Most Christian Majesty in the course of the campaign; to remove the receivers who had been employed in any part of the direction, receipt, and administration of the duties and revenues of Hanover, and apppoint others in their room. The French King, by the same decree, ordained, that all persons who had been entrusted under the preceding government with titles, papers, accounts, registers,

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or estimates, relating to the administration of the revenue, should communicate them to John Faidy, or his attornies; that the magistrates of the town, districts, and commonalties, as well as those who directed the administration of particular states and provinces, should deliver to the said John Faidy, or his attornies, the produce of six years of the duties and revenues belonging to the said towns, districts, and provinces, reckoning from the first of January in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one, together with an authentick account of the sums they had paid during that term to the preceding Sovereign, and of the charges necessarily incurred. It appears from the nature of this decree, which was dated on the eighteenth day of October, that immediately after the conventions of Closter-Seven and Bremenworden*, the Court of Versailles had determined to change the government and system of the electorate, contrary to an express article of the capitulation granted to the city of Hanover, when it surrendered on the ninth day of August; and that the Crown of France intended to take advantage of the cessation of arms, in seizing places and provinces which were not yet subdued: for, by the decree above-mentioned, the administration of John Faidy extended to the countries which might hereafter be conquered. With what regard to justice, then, could the French government charge the Elector of Hanover with the infraction of articles? or what respect to good faith and humanity did the Duke de Richelieu observe, in the order issued from Zell, towards the end of the year, importing, that as the treaty made with the country of Hanover had been rendered void by the violation of the articles signed at Closter-Seven, all the effects belonging to

* Six days after the convention was signed at Closter-Seven, another act of accommodation was concluded at Bremenworden, between the Generals Sporcken and Villemur, relating to the release of prisoners, and some other points omitted in the convention.

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the officers, or others, employed in the Hanoverian army, should be confiscated for the use of his Most Christian Majesty.

§ XX. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel being desirous of averting a like storm from his dominions, not only promised to renounce all connection with the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia, but even solicited the court of France to receive him among the number of its dependents; for, on the eighteenth day of October, the minister of the Duc de Deux-ponts delivered at Versailles, in the name of the Landgrave, the plan of a treaty founded on the following conditions: The Landgrave, after having expressed an ardent desire of attaching himself wholly to France, proposed these articles: That he should enter into no engagement against the King and his allies; and give no assistance, directly or indirectly, to the enemies of his Majesty and his allies: that he should never give his note, in the general or particular assemblies of the empire, against his Majesty's interest; but, on the contrary, employ his interest, jointly with France, to quiet the troubles of the Empire: that, for this end, his troops, which had served in the Hanoverian army, should engage in the service of France, on condition that they should not act in the present war against his Britannick Majesty: that, immediately after the ratification of the treaty, his Most Christian Majesty should restore the dominions of the Landgrave in the same condition they were in when subdued by the French forces: that these dominions should be exempted from all further contributions, either in money, corn, forage, wood, or cattle, though already imposed on the subjects of Hesse; and the French troops pay for all the provision with which they might be supplied; in which case the Landgrave should exact no toll for warlike stores, provisions, or other articles of that nature, which might pass through his dominions: that the King of France should guarantee all his estates, all the

the rights of the house of Hesse-Cassel, particularly the act of assurance signed by his son, the hereditary prince, with regard to religion; use his interest with the Emperor and the Empress-Queen, that, in consideration of the immense losses and damages his most Serene Highness had suffered since the French invaded his country, and of the great sums he should lose with England in arrears and subsidies by this accommodation, he might be excused from furnishing his contingent to the army of the Empire, as well as from paying the Roman months granted by the diet of the Empire; and if, in resentment of this convention, the states of his Serene Highness should be attacked, his Most Christian Majesty should afford the most speedy and effectual succours. These proposals will speak for themselves to the reader's apprehension; and if he is not blinded by the darkest mists of prejudice, exhibit a clear and distinct idea of a genuine German ally. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel had been fed with the good things of England, even in time of peace, when his friendship could not avail, nor his aversion prejudice the interests of Great-Britain: but he was retained in that season of tranquillity as a friend, on whose services the most implicit dependence might be placed in any future storm or commotion. How far he merited this confidence and favour might have been determined by reflecting on his conduct during the former war: in the course of which his troops were hired to the King of Great Britain and his enemies alternately, as the scale of convenience happened to preponderate. Since the commencement of the present troubles, he had acted as a mercenary to Great-Britain, although he was a principal in the dispute, and stood connected with her designs by solemn treaty, as well as by all the ties of gratitude and honour: but now that the cause of Hanover seemed to be on the decline, and his own dominions had suffered by the fate of the war, he not only appeared

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willing to abandon his benefactor and ally, but even sued to be enlisted in the service of his adversary. This intended defection was, however, prevented by a sudden turn of fortune, which he could not possibly foresee; and his troops continued to act in conjunction with the Hanoverians.

§ XXI. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was not singular in making such advances to the French monarch. The Duke of Brunswick, still more nearly connected with the King of Great-Britain, used such uncommon expedition in detaching himself from the tottering fortune of Hanover, that in ten days after the convention of Closter-Seven he had concluded a treaty with the courts of Vienna and Versailles; so that the negociation must have been begun before that convention took place. On the twentieth day of September his minister at Vienna, by virtue of full powers from the Duke of Brunswick, accepted and signed the conditions which the French King and his Austrian ally thought proper to impose. These imported, That his Most Christian Majesty should keep possession of the cities of Brunswick and Wolfenbuttel during the war, and make use of the artillery, arms, and military stores deposited in their arsenals: that the Duke's forces, on their return from the camp of the Duke of Cumberland, should be disbanded, and disarmed; and take an oath, that they should not, during the present war, serve against the King or his allies: that the Duke should be permitted to maintain a battalion of foot, and two squadrons of horse, for the guard of his person and castles; but the regulations made by Mareschal Richelieu and the intendant of his army should subsist on their present footing: that the Duke should furnish his contingent in money and troops, agreeably to the laws of the Empire: that his forces should immediately join those which the Germanick body had assembled; and that he should order his minister at Ratisbon to vote conformably to the re-

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solutions of the diet, approved and confirmed by the Emperor. In consideration of all these concessions, the Duke was restored to the favour of the French King, who graciously promised that neither his revenues nor his treasure should be touched, nor the administration of justice invaded; and that nothing further should be demanded, but winter quarters for the regiments which should pass that season in the country of Brunswick. How scrupulously soever the Duke might have intended to observe the articles of this treaty, his intentions were frustrated by the conduct of his brother Prince Ferdinand, who, being invested with the command of the Hanoverian army, and ordered to resume the operations of war against the enemy, detained the troops of Brunswick, as well as his nephew the Hereditary Prince, notwithstanding the treaty which his brother had signed, and the injunctions which he had laid upon his son to quit the army, and make a tour to Holland. The Duke wrote an expostulatory letter to Prince Ferdinand, pathetically complaining that he had seduced his troops, decoyed his son, and disgraced his family; insisting upon the Prince's pursuing his journey, as well as upon the return of the troops: and threatening, in case of non-compliance, to use other means that should be more effectual *. Notwithstanding

* Translation of the letter written by the Duke of Brunswick to his brother Prince Ferninand:

SIR,

"I KNOW you too well to doubt that the situation in which we stand at present, with respect to each other, gives you abundance of uneasiness; nor will you doubt that it gives me equal concern; indeed, it afflicts me greatly. Meanwhile I could never, my dearest brother, have believed that you would be the person who should carry away from me my eldest son. I am exceedingly mortified to find myself under the hard necessity of telling you that this step is contrary to the law of nations, and the constitution of the Empire; and that, if you persist in it, you will disgrace your family, and bring a stain upon your country, which you pretend to serve. The Hereditary Prince, my son, was at Hamburgh by my order, and you have carried him to Stade. Could he distrust his uncle, an uncle who hath done so much honour to his family? Could he believe that this uncle would deprive him of liberty, a liberty never refused to the lowest officer?

withstanding this warm remonstrance, Prince Ferdinand adhered to his plan. He detained the troops and the Hereditary Prince, who, being fond of the service, in a little time signalised himself by very extraordinary

officer? I ordered him to make a tour to Holland: could not the lowest officer have done as much? Let us suppose for a moment, that my troops, among whom he served, were to have staid with the Hanoverians, would it not have been still in my power to give an officer leave of absence, or even leave to resign his commission? and would you hinder your brother, the head of your family, and of such a family as ours, to exercise this right with regard to a son, who is the Hereditary Prince, of whose rights and prerogatives you cannot be ignorant? It is impossible you could have conceived such designs, without the suggestion of others. Those who did suggest them have trampled on the rights of nature, of nations, and of the princes of Germany; they have induced you to add to all these the most cruel insult on a brother whom you love, and who always loved you with the warmest affection. Would you have your brother lay his just complaints against you before the whole Empire, and all Europe? Are not your proceedings without example? What is Germany become? What are its princes become, and our house in particular? Is it the interest of the two kings, the cause of your country, and my cause that you pretend to support?—I repeat it, brother, that this design could not have been framed by you. I again command my son to pursue his journey; and I cannot conceive you will give the least obstruction; if you should (which I pray God avert) I solemnly declare that I will not be constrained by such measures, nor shall I ever forget what I owe to myself. As to my troops, you may see what I have written on that head to the Hanoverian ministry. The Duke of Cumberland, by the convention of Closter-Seven, dismissed them, and sent them home; the said ministry gave me notice of this convention, as a treaty by which I was bound. The march of the troops was settled; and, an incident happening, they halted: that obstacle being removed, they were to have continued their march. The court of Hanover will be no longer bound by the convention, while I not only accepted it on their word, but have also, in conformity with their instructions, negotiated at Versailles, and at Vienna. After all these steps, they would have me contradict myself, break my word, and entirely ruin my estate, as well as my honour. Did you ever know your brother guilty of such things? True it is, I have, as you say, sacrificed my all; or rather, I have been sacrificed. The only thing left me is my honour; and in the unhappy contrast of our situations, I lament both you and myself, that it should be from you, my dear brother, I should receive the cruel advice to give up my honour. I cannot listen to it; I cannot recede from my promise. My troops, therefore, must return home, agreeably to what the Duke of Cumberland and the Hanoverian ministry stipulated with regard to me in the strongest manner. I am afraid that the true circumstances of things are concealed from you. Not to detain your express too long, I shall send you, by the post, copies of all I have written to the Hanoverian ministry. It will grieve your honest heart to read it. I am, with a heart almost broken, yet full of tenderness for you, your, &c.

"Blackenbourg, Nov. 27, 1757."

BOOK III. 1758. extraordinary acts of bravery and conduct; and means were found to reconcile his father to measures that expressly contradicted his engagements with the courts of Vienna and Versailles.

§ XXII. The defeat of the French army at Rosbach, and the retreat of the Russians from Pomerania, had entirely changed the face of affairs in the Empire. The French King was soon obliged to abandon his conquests on that side of the Rhine, and his threats sounded no longer terrible in the ears of the Hanoverian and Prussian allies. As little formidable were the denunciations of the Emperor, who had, by a decree of the Aulick council, communicated to the diet certain mandates, issued in the month of August in the preceding year, on pain of the ban of the Empire, which avocatory letters annexed, against the King of Great-Britain, Elector of Hanover, and the other princes acting in concert with the King of Prussia. The French court likewise published a virulent memorial, after the convention of Closter-Seven had been violated, and set aside, drawing an invidious parallel between the conduct of the French King and the proceedings of his Britannick Majesty: in which the latter is taxed with breach of faith, and almost every meanness that could stain the character of a monarch. In answer to the Emperor's decree, and this virulent charge, Baron Gimmingen, the electoral minister of Brunswick Lunenbourg, presented to the diet, in November, a long memorial, recapitulating the important services his Sovereign had done the House of Austria, and the ungrateful returns he had reaped, in the Queen's refusing to assist him, when his dominions were threatened with an invasion. He enumerated many instances in which she had assisted, encouraged, and even joined the enemies of the electorate, in contempt of her former encouragements, and directly contrary to the constitution of the Empire. He refuted every article of the charge which the French court

court had brought against him in their virulent libel, retorted the imputations of perfidy and ambition, and, with respect to France, justified every particular of his own conduct.

§ XXIII. While the French and Hanoverian armies remained in their winter-quarters, the former at Zell, and the latter at Lunenbourg, divers petty enterprises were executed by detachments with various success. The Hanoverian General, Juncheim, having taken post at Halberstadt and Quedlimbourg, from whence he made excursions even to the gates of Brunswick, and kept the French army in continual alarm, was visited by a large body of the enemy, who compelled him to retire to Achersleben, committed great excesses in the town of Halberstadt and its neighbourhood, and carried off hostages for the payment of contributions. General Hardenberg, another Hanoverian officer, having dislodged the French detachments that occupied Burgh, Vogelsack, and Ritterhude, and cleared the whole territory of Bremen, in the month of January the Duke de Broglio assembled a considerable corps of troops that were cantoned at Ottersburg, Rothenburg, and the adjacent country, and advancing to Bremen, demanded admittance, threatning that, in case of a refusal, he would have recourse to extremities, and punish the inhabitants severely, should they make the least opposition. When their deputies waited upon him, to desire a short time for deliberation, he answered, "Not a moment—the Duke de Richelieu's orders are peremptory, and admit of no delay." He accordingly ordered the cannon to advance; the wall was scaled, and the gates would have been forced open, had not the magistrates, at the earnest importunity of the people, resolved to comply with his demand. A second deputation was immediately dispatched to the Duke de Broglio, signifying their compliance; and the gates being opened, he

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he marched into the city at midnight, after having promised upon his honour that no attempt should be made to the prejudice of its rights and prerogatives, and no outrage offered to the privileges of the regency, to the liberty, religion, and commerce of the inhabitants. This conquest, however, was of short duration. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick being joined by a body of Prussian horse, under the command of Prince George of Holstein Gottorp, the whole army was put in motion, and advanced to the country of Bremen about the middle of February. The enemy were dislodged from Rothenburg, Ottersburg, and Verden, and they abandoned the city of Bremen at the approach of the Hanoverian General, who took possession of it without opposition.

§ XXIV. By this time the court of Versailles, being dissatisfied with the conduct of the Duke de Richelieu, had recalled that General from Germany, where his place was supplied by the Count de Clermont, to the general satisfaction of the army, as well as the joy of the Hanoverian subjects, among whom Richelieu had committed many flagrant and inhuman acts of rapine and oppression. The new commander found his master's forces reduced to a deplorable condition, by the accidents of war, and distempers arising from hard duty, severe weather, and the want of necessaries. As he could not pretend, with such a wretched remnant, to oppose the designs of Prince Ferdinand in the field, or even maintain the footing which his predecessor had gained, he found himself under the necessity of retiring with all possible expedition towards the Rhine. As the Allies advanced, his troops retreated from their distant quarters with such precipitation, as to leave behind all their sick, together with a great part of their baggage and artillery, besides a great number of officers and soldiers, that fell into the hands of those parties by whom they were pursued.

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The inhabitants of Hanover, perceiving the French intended to abandon that city, were overwhelmed with the fear of being subjected to every species of violence and abuse; but their apprehensions were happily disappointed by the honour and integrity of the Duke de Randan, the French Governor, who not only took effectual measures for restraining the soldiers within the bounds of the most rigid discipline and moderation, but likewise exhibited a noble proof of generosity, almost without example. Instead of destroying his magazine of provisions, according to the usual practice of war, he ordered the whole to be either sold at a low price, or distributed among the poor of the city, who had been long exposed to the horrors of famine; an act of godlike humanity, which ought to dignify the character of that worthy nobleman above all the titles that military fame can deserve, or arbitrary monarchs bestow. The regency of Hanover were so deeply impressed with a sense of his heroick behaviour on this occasion, that they gratefully acknowledged it, in a letter of thanks to him and the Count de Clermont; and on the day of solemn thanksgiving to heaven, for their being delivered from their enemies, the clergy, in their sermons, did not fail to celebrate and extol the charity and benevolence of the Duke de Randan. Such glorious testimonies, even from enemies, must have afforded the most exquisite pleasure to a mind indued with sensibility; and this, no doubt, may be termed one of the fairest triumphs of humanity.

§ XXV. The two grand divisions of the French army, quartered at Zell and Hanover, retired in good order to Hamelen, where they collected all their troops, except those that were left in Hoya, and about four thousand men placed in garrison at Minden, to retard the operations of the combined army. Towards the latter end of February, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, having received intelligence that the Count de Chabot was posted with a considerable

body of troops at Hoya, upon the Weser, detached the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, with four battalions, and some light troops and dragoons to dislodge them from that neighbourhood. This enterprise was executed with the utmost intrepidity. The Hereditary Prince passed the Weser at Bremen with part of his detachment, while the rest advanced on this side of the river; and the enemy being attacked in front and rear, were in a little time forced, and thrown into confusion. The bridge being abandoned, and near seven hundred men taken prisoners, the Count de Chabot threw himself, with two battalions, into the castle, where he resolved to support himself, in hope of being relieved. The regiment of Bretagne, and some detachments of dragoons, were actually on the march to his assistance. The Hereditary Prince being made acquainted with this circumstance, being also destitute of heavy artillery to besiege the place in form, and taking it for granted he should not be able to maintain the post after it might be taken, he listened to the terms of the capitulation proposed by the French General, whose garrison was suffered to march out with the honours of war; but their cannon, stores, and ammunition were surrendered to the victor. This was the first exploit of the Hereditary Prince, whose valour and activity, on many subsequent occasions, shone with distinguished lustre. He had no sooner reduced Hoya, than he marched to the attack of Minden, which he invested on the fifth day of March, and on the fourteenth the garrison surrendered at discretion. After the reduction of this city, the combined army advanced towards Hamelen, where the French General had established his head-quarters: but he abandoned them at the approach of the Allies, and leaving behind all his sick and wounded, with part of his magazines, retired without halting to Paderborn, and from thence to the Rhine, recalling in his march the troops that were in Embden, Cassel, and

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the landgraviate of Hesse, all which places were now evacuated. They were terribly harassed in their retreat by the Prussian hussars, and a body of light horse, distinguished by the name of Hanoverian hunters, who took a great number of prisoners, together with many baggage-waggons, and some artillery. Such was the precipitation of the enemy's retreat, that they could not find time to destroy all their magazines of provision and forage; and even forgot to call in the garrison of Vechte, a small fortress in the neighbourhood of Diepholt, who were made prisoners of war, and here was found a complete train of battering cannon and mortars. The Count de Clermont, having reached the banks of the Rhine, distributed his forces into quarters of cantonment in Wesel and the adjoining country, while Prince Ferdinand cantoned the allied army in the bishoprick of Munster; here, however, he did not long remain inactive. In the latter end of May he ordered a detachment to pass the Rhine at Duysbourg, under the command of Colonel Scheither, who executed his order without loss, defeated three battalions of the enemy, and took five pieces of cannon. In the beginning of June the whole army passed the Rhine, on a bridge constructed for the occasion, defeated a body of French cavalry, and obtained divers other advantages in their march towards Wesel. Kaisersworth was surprised, the greater part of the garrison either killed or taken; and Prince Ferdinand began to make preparations for the siege of Dusseldorp. In the mean time, the Count de Clermont, being unable to stop the rapidity of his progress, was obliged to secure his troops with strong entrenchments, until he should be properly reinforced.

§ XXVI. The court of Versailles, though equally mortified and confounded at the turn of their affairs in Germany, did not sit tamely and behold this reverse; but exerted their usual spirit and expedition

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in retrieving the losses they had sustained. They assembled a body of troops at Hanau, under the direction of the Prince de Soubise, who, it was said, had received orders to penetrate, by the way of Donawert, Ingoldstadt, and Arnberg, into Bohemia. In the mean time, reinforcements daily arrived in the camp of the Count de Clermont; and, as repeated complaints had been made of the want of discipline and subordination in that army, measures were taken for reforming the troops by severity and example. The Mareschal Duke de Belleisle, who now acted as Secretary at War with uncommon ability, wrote a letter, directed to all the colonels of infantry, threatening them, in the King's name, with the loss of their regiments, should they connive any longer at the scandalous practice of buying commissions; an abuse which had crept into the service under various pretexts, to the discouragement of merit, the relaxation of discipline, and the total extinction of laudable emulation. The Prince of Clermont having quitted his strong camp at Rhinefeldt, retired to Nuys, a little higher up the river, and detached a considerable corps, under the command of the Count de St. Germain, to take post at Crevelt, situated in a plain between his army and the camp of the Allies, which fronted the town of Meurs: after several motions on both sides, Prince Ferdinand resolved to attack the enemy, and forthwith made a disposition for this purpose. He assigned the command of the whole left wing, consisting of eighteen battalions and twenty-eight squadrons, to Lieutenant-General Sporcken: the conduct of the right wing, composed of sixteen battalions and fourteen squadrons, was entrusted to the Hereditary Prince and Major-General Wangenheim; the squadrons, with the addition of two regiments of Prussian dragoons, were under the immediate direction of the Prince of Holstein, while the Hereditary Prince commanded the infantry. The light-troops, consisting of five squadrons

squadrons of hussars, were divided between the Prince of Holstein and Lieutenant-General Sporcken. Major Luckner's squadron, together with Scheither's corps, were ordered to observe the flank of the enemy's right, and with this view were posted in the village of Papendeick; and a battalion of the troops of Wolfenbuttel were left in the town of Hulste, to cover the rear of the army. Prince Ferdinand's design was to attack the enemy on their left flank; but the execution was rendered extremely difficult by the woods and ditches that embarrassed the route, and the numerous ditches that intersected this part of the country. On the twenty-third day of June, at four in the morning, the army began to move; the right advancing in two columns as far as St. Anthony, and the left marching up within half a league of Crevelt. The Prince having viewed the position of the enemy from the steeple of St. Anthony, procured guides, and having received all the necessary hints of information, proceeded to the right, in order to charge the enemy's left flank by the villages of Worst and Anrath; but, in order to divide their attention, and keep them in suspense with respect to the nature of his principal attack, he directed the Generals Sporcken and Oberg to advance against them by the way of Crevelt and St. Anthony, and, in particular, to make the most of their artillery, that, being employed in three different places at once, they might be prevented from sending any reinforcement to the left, where the chief attack was intended. These precautions being taken, Prince Ferdinand, putting himself at the head of the grenadiers of the right wing, continued his march in two columns to the village of Anrath, where he fell in with an advanced party of the French, which, after a few discharges of musquetry, retired to their camp and gave the alarm. In the mean time, both armies were drawn up in order of battle; the troops of the Allies in the plain between the villages of Anrath

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rath and Willich, opposite to the French forces, whose left was covered with a wood. The action began about one in the afternoon, with a severe cannonading on the part of Prince Ferdinand, which, though well supported, proved ineffectual in drawing the enemy from their cover: he, therefore, determined to dislodge them from the wood by dint of small arms. The Hereditary Prince immediately advanced with the whole front, and a very obstinate action ensued. Meanwhile, the cavalry on the right in vain attempted to penetrate the wood on the other side, where the enemy had raised two batteries, which were sustained by forty squadrons of horse. After a terrible fire had been maintained on both sides, till five in the afternoon, the grenadiers forced the entrenchments in the wood, which were lined by the French infantry. These giving way, abandoned the wood in the utmost disorder; but the pursuit was checked by the conduct and resolution of the enemy's cavalry, which, notwithstanding a dreadful fire from the artillery of the Allies, maintained their ground, and covered the foot in their retreat to Nuys. The success of the day was, in a good measure, owing to the artillery on the left and in the centre, with which the Generals Sporcken and Oberg had done great execution, and employed the attention of the enemy on that side, while Prince Ferdinand prosecuted his attack on the other quarter. It must be owned, however, that their right wing and centre retired in great order to Nuys, though the left was defeated, with the loss of some standards, colours, and pieces of cannon, and six thousand men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners*. This victory

* Among the French officers who lost their lives in this engagement, was the Count de Gisors, only son of the Mareschal Duke de Belleisle, and last hope of that illustrious family, a young nobleman of extraordinary accomplishments, who finished a short life of honour in the embrace of military glory, and fell gallantly fighting at the head of his own regiment, to the inexpressible grief of his aged father, and the universal regret of his country.

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however, which cost the Allies about fifteen hundred men, was not at all decisive in its consequences; and, indeed, the plan seemed only calculated to display the enterprising genius of the Hanoverian General. True it is, the French army took refuge under the cannon of Cologn, where they remained, without hazarding any step for the relief of Dusseldorp, which Prince Ferdinand immediately invested, and in a few days reduced, the garrison being allowed to march out with the honours of war, on condition that they should not, for the space of one year, carry arms against the Allies.

§ XXVII. It was at this period that Count de Clermont resigned his command, which was conferred upon M. de Contades, and the French army was considerably reinforced. He even threatened to attack Prince Ferdinand in his turn, and made some motions with that design, but was prevented by the little river Erff, behind which the Prince resolved to lie quiet, until he should be joined by the body of British troops under the command of the Duke of Marlborough, the first division of which had just landed at Embden. He flattered himself that the Prince of Ysembourg, at the head of the Hessian troops, would find employment for the Prince de Soubise, who had marched from Hanau, with a design to penetrate into the landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel; his vanguard had been already surprised and defeated by the militia of the country: and the Prince of Ysembourg was at the head of a considerable body of regular forces, assembled to oppose his further progress. Prince Ferdinand, therefore, hoped that the operations of the French General would be effectually impeded, until he himself, being joined by the British troops, should be in a condition to pass the Meuse, transfer the seat of war into the enemy's country, thus make a diversion from the Rhine, and perhaps oblige the Prince de Soubise to come to the assistance of the principal French

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French army commanded by M. de Contades. He had formed a plan which would have answered these purposes effectually, and, in execution of it, marched to Ruremond on the Maese, when his measures were totally disconcerted by a variety of incidents which he could not foresee. The Prince of Ysembourg was, on the twenty-third day of July, defeated at Sangarshausen by the Duke de Broglio, whom the Prince de Soubise had detached against him with a number of troops greatly superior to that which the Hessian General commanded. The Duke de Broglio, who commanded the corps that formed the vanguard of Soubise's army, having learned at Cassel, that the Hessian troops under the Prince of Ysembourg, were retiring towards Munden, he advanced, on the twenty-third of July, with a body of eight thousand men, to the village of Sangarshausen, where he found them drawn up in order of battle, and forthwith made a disposition for the attack. At first his cavalry were repulsed by the Hessian horse, which charged the French infantry, and were broke in their turn. The Hessians, though greatly inferior in number to the enemy, made a very obstinate resistance, by favour of a rock in the Fulde that covered their right, and a wood by which their left was secured. The dispute was so obstinate, that the enemy's left was obliged to give ground; but the Duke de Broglio ordering a fresh corps to advance, changed the fortune of the day. The Hessians, overpowered by numbers, gave way; part plunged into the river, where many perished, and part threw themselves into the wood, through which they escaped from the pursuit of the hussars, who took above two hundred soldiers and fifty officers, including the Count de Canitz, who was second in command. They likewise found on the field of battle seven pieces of cannon, and eight at Munden: but the carnage was pretty considerable, and nearly equal on both sides. The number of the killed and wounded,

wounded, on the side of the French, exceeded two thousand; the loss of the Hessians was not so great. The Prince of Ysembourg, having collected the remains of his little army, took post at Eimbeck, where he soon was reinforced, and found himself at the head of twelve thousand men: but, in consequence of this advantage, the enemy became masters of the Weser, and opened to themselves a free passage into Westphalia.

§ XXVIII. The progress of Prince Ferdinand upon the Maese, had been retarded by a long succession of heavy rains, which broke up the roads, and rendered the country impassable; and now the certain information of this unlucky check left him no alternative but a battle or a retreat across the Rhine: the first was carefully avoided by the enemy; the latter resolution, therefore, he found himself under a necessity to embrace. In his present position he was hampered by the French army on one wing, on the other by the fortress of Gueldres, the garrison of which had been lately reinforced, as well as by divers other posts, capable of obstructing the convoys and subsistence of the combined army: besides, he had reason to apprehend, that the Prince de Soubise would endeavour to intercept the British troops in their march from Embden. Induced by these considerations, he determined to repass the Rhine, after having offered battle to the enemy, and made several motions for that purpose. Finding them averse to an engagement, he made his dispositions for forcing the strong pass of Wachtendonck, an island surrounded by the Niers, of very difficult approach, and situated exactly in his route to the Rhine. This service was performed by the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who, perceiving the enemy had drawn up the bridge, rushed into the river at the head of his grenadiers, who drove them away with their bayonets, and cleared the bridges for the passage of the army towards Rhinebergen.

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Rhinebergen. At this place Prince Ferdinand received intelligence, that M. de Chevert, reputed one of the best officers in the French service, had passed the Lippe with fourteen battalions and several squadrons, to join the garrison of Wesel, and fall upon Lieutenant-General Imhoff, who commanded a detached corps of the combined army at Meer, that he might be at hand to guard the bridge which the Prince had thrown over the Rhine at Rees. His Serene Highness was extremely desirous of sending succours to General Imhoff; but the troops were too much fatigued to begin another march before morning; and the Rhine had overflowed its banks in such a manner as to render the bridge at Rees impassable, so that M. Imhoff was left to the resources of his own conduct and the bravery of his troops, consisting of six battalions and four squadrons, already weakened by the absence of different detachments. This General having received advice, on the fourth of August, that the enemy intended to pass the Lippe the same evening with a considerable train of artillery, in order to burn the bridge at Rees, decamped with a view to cover this place, and join two battalions which had passed the Rhine in boats, under the command of General Zastrow, who reinforced him accordingly; but the enemy not appearing, he concluded the information was false, and resolved to resume his advantageous post at Meer. Of this he had no sooner repossessed himself, than his advanced guards were engaged with the enemy, who marched to the attack from Wesel, under the command of Lieutenant-General de Chevert, consisting of the whole corps intended for the siege of Dusseldorp. Imhoff's front was covered by coppices and ditches, there being a rising ground on his right, from whence he could plainly discern the whole force that advanced against him, together with the manner of their approach. Perceiving them engaged in that difficult ground, he posted one regiment in a coppice,

pice, with orders to fall upon the left flank of the enemy, which appeared quite uncovered; and as soon as their fire began, advanced with the rest of his forces to attack them in front. The bayonet was used on this occasion, and the charge given with such impetuosity and resolution, that, after a short resistance, the enemy fell into confusion, and fled towards Wesel, leaving on the spot eleven pieces of cannon, with a great number of waggons and other carriages: besides the killed and wounded, who amounted to a pretty considerable number, the victor took three hundred and fifty-four prisoners, including eleven officers; whereas, on his part, the victory was purchased at a very small expense.

§ XXIX. Immediately after this action, General Wangenheim passed the Rhine with several squadrons and battalions, to reinforce General Imhoff, and enable him to prosecute the advantage he had gained, while Prince Ferdinand marched with the rest of the army to Santen: from whence he proceeded to Rhineberg, where he intended to pass; but the river had overflowed to such a degree, that here, as well as at Rees, the shore was inaccessible; so that he found it necessary to march farther down the river, and lay a bridge at Gtiethuyzen. The enemy had contrived four vessels for the destruction of this bridge; but they were all taken before they could put the design into execution, and the whole army passed on the tenth day of August, without any loss or farther interruption. At the same time the Prince withdrew his garrison from Dusseldorp, of which the French immediately took possession. Immediately after his passage he received a letter from the Duke of Marlborough, acquainting him that the British troops had arrived at Lingen, in their route to Coesfeldt: to which place General Imhoff was sent to receive them, with a strong detachment. Notwithstanding this junction, the two armies on the Rhine were so equally matched, that

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no stroke of importance was struck on either side during the remaining part of the campaign. M. de Contades, seeing no prospect of obtaining the least advantage over Prince Ferdinand, detached Prince Xaverius of Saxony with a strong reinforcement to the Prince de Soubise, who had taken possession of Gottengen, and seemed determined to attack the Prince of Ysembourg at Eimbeck. That this officer might be able to give him a proper reception, Prince Ferdinand detached General Oberg with ten thousand men to Lipstadt, from whence, should occasion require, they might continue their march, and join the Hessians. The whole body, when thus reinforced, did not exceed twenty thousand men, of whom General Oberg now assumed the command: whereas the troops of Soubise were increased to the number of thirty thousand. The Allies had taken post upon the river Fulde at Sandershausen, where they hoped the French would attack them; but the design of Soubise was first to dislodge them from that advantageous situation. With this view, he made a motion, as if he had intended to turn the camp of the Allies by the road of Munden. In order to prevent the execution of this supposed design, General Oberg decamped on the tenth of October, and, passing by the village of Landwernhagen, advanced towards Luttenberg, where, understanding the enemy were at his heels, he forthwith formed his troops in order of battle, his right to the Fulde, and his left extending to a thicket upon an eminence, where he planted five field-pieces. The cavalry supported the wings in a third line, the village of Luttenberg was in the rear, and four pieces of cannon were mounted on a rising ground that flanked this village. The French having likewise passed Landwernhagen, posted their left towards the Fulde, their right extending far beyond the left of the Allies, and their front being strengthened with above thirty pieces of cannon. At

four

four in the afternoon the enemy began the battle with a severe cannonading, and at the same time the first line of their infantry attacked Major-General Zastrow, who was posted on the left wing of the Allies. This body of the French was repulsed; but in the same moment, a considerable line of cavalry advancing, charged the Allies in front and flank. These were supported by a fresh body of infantry with cannon, which, after a warm dispute, obliged the Confederates to give way: and General Oberg, in order to prevent a total defeat, made a disposition for a retreat, which was performed in tolerable order; not but that he suffered greatly, in passing through a defile, from the fire of the enemy's cannon, which was brought up, and managed under the direction of the Duke de Broglio. Having marched through Munden, by midnight, the retiring army lay till morning under arms in the little plain near Grupen, on the other side of the Weser; but at day-break prosecuted their march, after having withdrawn the garrison from Munden, until they arrived in the neighbourhood of Guntersheim, where they encamped. In this engagement General Oberg lost about fifteen hundred men, his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. He was obliged to abandon a magazine of hay and straw at Munden, and leave part of his wounded men in that place to the humanity of the victor. But, after all, the French General reaped very little advantage from his victory.

§ XXX. By this time Prince Ferdinand had retired into Westphalia, and fixed his head-quarters at Munster, while M. de Contades encamped near Ham upon the Lippe: so that, although he had obliged the French army to evacuate Hanover and Hesse in the beginning of the year, when they were weakened by death and distemper, and even driven them beyond the Rhine, where they sustained a defeat; yet they were soon put in a condition to baffle all his future

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future endeavours, and penetrate again into Westphalia, where they established their winter-quarters, extending themselves in such a manner as to command the whole course of the Rhine on both sides, while the Allies were disposed in the landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel, and in the bishopricks of Munster, Paderborn, and Hildesheim. The British troops had joined them so late in the season, that they had no opportunity to signalize themselves in the field; yet the fatigues of the campaign, which they had severely felt, proved fatal to their commander, the Duke of Marlborough, who died of a dysentery at Munster, universally lamented.

§ XXXI. Having thus particularised the operations of the allied army since the commencement of the campaign, we shall now endeavour to trace the steps of the King of Prussia, from the period at which his army was assembled for action. Having collected his force as soon as the season would permit, he undertook the siege of Schweidnitz in form on the twenty-first day of March; and carried on his operations with such vigour, that in thirteen days the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war, after having lost one half of their number in the defence of the place. While one part of his troops were engaged in this service, he himself, at the head of another, advanced to the eastern frontier of Bohemia, and sent a detachment as far as Trautenaw, garrisoned by a body of Austrians, who, after an obstinate resistance, abandoned the place, and retreated towards their grand army. By this success he opened to himself a way into Bohemia, by which he poured in detachments of light troops, to raise contributions, and harass the out-posts of the enemy. At the same time the Baron de la Mothe Fouquet marched with another body against the Austrian General, Jahnus, posted in the county of Glatz, whom he obliged to abandon all the posts he occupied in that country, and pursued as far as Nachod,

Nachod, within twenty miles of Koninsgratz, where the grand Austrian army was encamped, under the command of Mareschal Daun, who had lately arrived from Vienna *. Over and above these excursions, the King ordered a body of thirty thousand men to be assembled, to act under the command of his brother Prince Henry, an accomplished warrior, against the army of the Empire, which the Prince de Deuxponts, with great difficulty, made a shift to form again near Bamberg, in Franconia.

§ XXXII. The King of Prussia, whose designs were perhaps even greater than he cared to own, resolved to shift the theatre of the war, and penetrate into Moravia, a fertile country, which had hitherto been kept sacred from ravage and contribution. Having formed an army of fifty thousand choice troops, near Niess, in Silesia, he divided them into three columns; the first commanded by Mareschal Keith, the second by himself in person, and the third conducted by Prince Maurice of Anhault Dessau. In the latter end of April they began their march towards Moravia; and General De la Ville, who commanded a body of troops in that country, retired as they advanced, after having thrown a strong reinforcement into Olmutz, which the King was determined to besiege. Had he passed by this fortress, which was strongly fortified and well provided for a vigorous defence, he might have advanced to the gates of Vienna, and reduced the Emperor to the necessity of suing for peace on his own terms; but it seems he was unwilling to deviate so far from the common maxims of war as to leave a fortified place in the rear; and, therefore,

* At this juncture the Prussian commandant of Dresden being admitted into the Japan palace, to see the curious porcelaine with which it is adorned, perceived a door built up; and ordering the passage to be opened, entered a large apartment, where he found three thousand tents, and other field utensils. These had been concealed here when the Prussians first took possession of the city: they were immediately seized by the commandant, and distributed among the troops of Prince Henry's army.

fore, he determined to make himself master of it before he should proceed. For this purpose it was immediately invested: orders were issued to hasten up the heavy artillery, and Mareschal Keith was appointed to superintend and direct the operations of the siege. Meanwhile, the Austrian commander, Count Daun, being informed of his Prussian Majesty's motions and designs, quitted his camp at Leutomyssel in Bohemia, and entered Moravia by the way of Billa. Being still too weak to encounter the Prussians in the field, he extended his troops in the neighbourhood of the king's army, between Gewitz and Littau, in a mountainous situation, where he ran little or no risk of being attacked. Here he remained for some time in quiet, with the fertile country of Bohemia in his rear, from whence he drew plentiful supplies, and received daily reinforcements. His scheme was to relieve the besieged occasionally; to harass the besiegers, and to intercept their convoys from Silesia; and this scheme succeeded to his wish. Olmutz is so extensive in its works, and so peculiarly situated on the river Morava, that it could not be completely invested without weakening the posts of the besieging army, by extending them to a prodigious circuit; so that, in some parts, they were easily forced by detachments in the night, who fell upon them suddenly, and seldom failed to introduce into the place supplies of men, provisions, and ammunition. The forage in the neighbourhood of the city having been previously destroyed, the Prussian horse were obliged to make excursions at a great distance, consequently exposed to fatigue, and liable to surprise; and, in a word, the Prussians were not very expert in the art of town-taking.

§ XXXIII. Count Daun knew how to take advantage of these circumstances, without hazarding a battle, to which the King provoked him in vain. While the garrison made repeated sallies to retard the

the operations of the besiegers, the Austrian General harassed their foraging parties, fell upon different quarters of their army in the night, and kept them in continual alarm. Nevertheless, the King finished his first parallel; and proceeded with such vigour as seemed to promise a speedy reduction of the place, when his design was entirely frustrated by an untoward incident. Mareschal Daun, having received intelligence that a large convoy had set out from Silesia for the Prussian camp, resolved to seize this opportunity of compelling the King to desist from his enterprize. He sent General Jahnus, with a strong body of troops, towards Bahrn, and another detachment to Stadtoliebe, with instructions to attack the convoy on different sides; while he himself advanced towards the besiegers, as if he intended to give them battle. The King of Prussia, far from being deceived by this feint, began, from the motions of the Austrian General, to suspect his real scheme, and immediately dispatched General Ziethen, with a strong reinforcement, to protect the convoy, which was escorted by eight battalions, and about four thousand men, who had been sick, and were just recovered. Before this officer joined them, the convoy had been attacked on the twenty-eight day of June; but the assailants were repulsed with considerable loss. Mareschal Daun, however, took care that they should be immediately reinforced; and next day the attack was renewed with much greater effect. Four hundred waggons, guarded by four battalions, and about one thousand troopers, had just passed the defiles of Domstadt, when the Austrians charged them furiously on every side: the communication between the head and the rest of the convoy was cut off; and General Ziethen, after having exerted all his efforts for its preservation, being obliged to abandon the waggons, retired to Troppau. Thus the whole convoy fell into the hands of the

 enemy,

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enemy, who took above six hundred prisoners, together with General Putkammer; and the King of Prussia was obliged to relinquish his enterprize. This was a mortifying necessity for a Prince of his high spirit, at a time when he saw himself on the eve of reducing the place, notwithstanding the gallant defence which had been made by General Marshal, the governor. Nothing now remained but to raise the siege, and retire without loss in the face of a vigilant enemy, prepared to seize every opportunity of advantage: a task which, how hard soever it may appear, he performed with equal dexterity and success. Instead of retiring into Silesia, he resolved to avert the war from his own dominions, and take the route of Bohemia, the frontiers of which were left uncovered by Mareschal Daun's last motion, when he advanced his quarters to Posnitz, in order to succour Olmutz the more effectually. After the King had taken his measures, he carefully concealed his design from the enemy, and, notwithstanding the loss of his convoy, prosecuted the operations of the siege with redoubled vigour, till the first day of July, when he decamped in the night, and began his march to Bohemia. He himself, with one division, took the road to Konitz: and Mareschal Keith having brought away all the artillery, except four mortars, and one disabled cannon, pursued his march by the way of Littau to Muglitz and Tribau. Although his Prussian Majesty had gained an entire march upon the Austrians, their light troops, commanded by the Generals Buccow and Laudohn, did not fail to attend and harass his army in their retreat; but their endeavours were in a great measure frustrated by the conduct and circumspection of the Prussian commanders. After the rear of the army had passed the defiles of Krenau, General Lasci, who was posted at Gibau with a large body of Austrian troops, occupied the village of Krenau with a detachment of grenadiers, who were soon dislodged; and

and the Prussians pursued their march by Zwittau to Leutomyssel, where they seized a magazine of meal and forage. In the mean time, General de Ratzow, who conducted the provisions and artillery, found the hills of Hollitz possessed by the enemy, who cannonaded him as he advanced; but Mareschal Keith coming up, ordered him to be attacked in the rear, and they fled into a wood with precipitation, with the loss of six officers and three hundred men, who were taken prisoners. While the Mareschal was thus employed, the King proceeded from Leutomyssel to Koningsgratz, where General Buccow, who had got the start of him, was posted with seven thousand men behind the Elbe, and in the intrenchments which they had thrown up all round the city. The Prussian troops as they arrived passed over the little river Adler, and as the enemy had broken down the bridges over the Elbe, the King ordered them to be repaired with all expedition, being determined to attack the Austrian entrenchments: but General Buccow did not wait for his approach. He abandoned his entrenchments, and retired with his troops to Clumetz; so that the King took possession of the most important post of Koningsgratz without further opposition. An Austrian corps having taken post between him and Hollitz, in order to obstruct the march of the artillery, he advanced against them in person, and having driven them from the place, all his cannon, military stores, provision, with fifteen hundred sick and wounded men, arrived in safety at Koningsgratz, where the whole army encamped. His intention was to transfer the seat of war from Moravia to Bohemia, where he should be able to maintain a more easy communication with his own dominions; but a more powerful motive soon obliged him to change his resolution.

§ XXXIV. After the Russian troops under Apraxin had retreated from Pomerania in the course of the

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preceding year, and the Czarina seemed ready to change her system, the Courts of Vienna and Versailles had, by dint of subsidies, promises, presents, and intrigues, attached her, in all appearance, more firmly than ever to the confederacy, and even induced her to augment the number of troops destined to act against the Prussian Monarch. She not only signed her accession in form to the quadruple alliance with the Empress-Queen and the Kings of France and Sweden; but, in order to manifest her zeal to the common cause, she disgraced her chancellor, Count Bestuchef, who was supposed averse to the war: she divided her forces into separate bodies, under the command of the Generals Fermer and Browne, and ordered them to put their troops in motion in the middle of winter. Fermer accordingly began his march in the beginning of January, and on the twenty-second his light troops took possession of Koningsberg, the capital of Prussia, without opposition: for the King's forces had quitted that country, in order to prosecute the war in the western parts of Pomerania. They did not however, maintain themselves in this part of the country; but, after having ravaged some districts, returned to the main body, which halted on the Vistula, to the no small disturbance of the city of Dantzick. The Resident of the Czarina actually demanded that the magistrates should receive a Russian garrison: a demand which they not only peremptorily refused, but ordered all the citizens to arms, and took every other method to provide for their defence. At length, after some negociation with General Fermer, the affair was compromised: he desisted from the demand, and part of his troops passed the Vistula, seemingly to invade Pomerania, in the eastern part of which Count Dohna had assembled an army of Prussians to oppose their progress. But after they had pillaged the open country, they rejoined

rejoined their main body; and General Fermer, turning to the left, advanced to Silesia, in order to co-operate with the other Russian army commanded by Browne, who had taken his route through Poland, and already passed the Posna. By the first of July, both bodies had reached the frontiers of Silesia, and some of their Cossacks, penetrating into that province, had committed dreadful ravages, and overwhelmed the inhabitants with consternation. Count Dohna, with the Prussian army under his command, had attended their motions, and even passed the Oder at Frankfort, as if he had intended to give them battle: but he was too much inferior in number to hazard such a step, which became an object of his Sovereign's own personal attention. Mareschal Daun had followed the King into Bohemia, and, on the twenty-second day of July, encamped on the hills of Libischau, a situation almost inaccessible, where he resolved to remain, and watch the motions of the Prussian Monarch, until some opportunity should offer of acting to advantage. Nature seems to have expressly formed this Commander with talents to penetrate the designs, embarrass the genius, and check the impetuosity of the Prussian Monarch. He was justly compared to Fabius Maximus, distinguished by the epithet of Cunctator. He possessed all the vigilance, caution, and sagacity of that celebrated Roman. Like him, he hovered on the skirts of the enemy, harassing their parties, accustoming the soldiers to strict discipline, hard service, and the face of a formidable foe, and watching for opportunities, which he knew how to seize with equal courage and celerity.

§ XXXV. The King of Prussia, being induced by a concurrence of motives to stop the progress of the Russians in Silesia, made his dispositions for retreating from Bohemia, and on the twenty-fifth day of July quitted the camp at Koningsgratz. He was attended

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attended in his march by three thousand Austrian light troops, who did not fail to incommode his rear: but, notwithstanding these impediments, he passed the Mittau, proceeded on his route, and on the ninth day of August arrived at Landshut. From thence he hastened with a detachment towards Frankfort on the Oder, and joined the army commanded by Lieutenant-General Dohna at Gorgas. Then the whole army passed the Oder by a bridge thrown over it at Gatavise, and having rested one day, advanced to Dertm tzal, where he encamped. The Russians, under General Fermer, were posted on the other side of the little river Mitzel, their right extending to the village of Zwicker, and their left to Quertchem. The King being determined to hazard a battle, passed the Mitzel on the twenty-fifth in the morning, and turning the flank of the enemy, drew up his army in order of battle in the plain between the little river and the town of Zorndorf. The Russians, by whom he was outnumbered, did not decline the dispute; but as the ground did not permit them to extend themselves, they appeared in four lines, forming a front on every side, defended by cannon and a chevaux-de-frise, their right flank covered by the village of Zwicker. After a warm cannonade, the Prussian infantry were ordered to attack the village, and a body of grenadiers advanced to the assault; but this brigade unexpectedly giving way, occasioned a considerable opening in the line, and left the whole left flank of the infantry uncovered. Before the enemy could take advantage of this incident, the interval was filled up by the cavalry under the command of General Seydlitz; and the King, with his usual presence of mind, substituted another choice body of troops to carry on the attack. This began about noon, and continued for some time, during which both sides fought with equal courage and perseverance: at length General Seydlitz, having routed

routed the Russian cavalry, fell upon the flank of the infantry with great fury, which being also dreadfully annoyed by the Prussian artillery, they abandoned the village, together with their military chest, and great part of their baggage. Notwithstanding this loss, which had greatly disordered their right wing, they continued to stand their ground, and terrible havock was made among them, not only with the sword and bayonet, but also by the cannon, which were loaded with grape shot, and being excellently served, did great execution. Towards evening the confusion among them increased to such a degree, that in all probability they would have been entirely routed, had they not been favoured by the approaching darkness, as well as by a particular operation which was very gallantly performed. One of the Russian Generals perceiving the fortune of the day turned against them, rallied a select body of troops, and made a vigorous impression on the right wing of the Prussians. This effort diverted their attention so strongly to that quarter, that the right of the Russians enjoyed a respite, during which they retired in tolerable order, and occupied a new post on the right, where the rest of their forces were the more easily assembled. In this battle they are said to have lost about fifteen thousand men, thirty-seven colours, five standards, twelve mortars, the greater part of their baggage, and above one hundred pieces of cannon. Among the prisoners that fell into the hands of the victor, were several general officers, and a good number lost their lives on the field of battle. The victory cost the King above two thousand men, including some officers of distinction, particularly two aides-du-camp, who attended his own person, which he exposed without scruple to all the perils of the day. It would have redounded still more to his glory, had he put a stop to the carnage; for, after all resistance was at an end, the wretched Russians were hewn down without mercy. It must

be

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be owned, indeed, that the Prussian soldiers were, in a peculiar manner, exasperated against this enemy, because they had laid waste the country, burned the villages, ruined the peasants, and committed many horrid acts of barbarity, which the practice of war could not authorise*. The Prussian army passed the night under arms, and next morning the cannonade

* A detail of the cruelties committed by those barbarians cannot be read without horror. They not only burned a great number of villages, but they ravished, rifled, murdered, and mutilated the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, without any other provocation or incitement than brutal lust and wantonness of barbarity. They even violated the sepulchres of the dead, which have been held sacred among the most savage nations. At Camin and Breckholtz they forced open the graves and sepulchral vaults, and stripped the bodies of the Generals Schlaberndorf and Ruitz, which had been deposited there. But the collected force of their vengeance was discharged against Custrin, the capital of the New Marche of Brandenburgh, situated at the conflux of the Warta and the Oder, about fifteen English miles from Frankfort. The particulars of the disaster that befel this city, are pathetically related in the following extracts from a letter written by an inhabitant and eye-witness.

"On the thirteenth of August, about three o'clock in the afternoon, a sudden report was spread that a body of Russian hussars and cossacks appeared in sight of the little suburb. All the people were immediately in motion, and the whole city was filled with terror, especially as we were certainly informed that the whole Russian army was advancing from Meserick and Konigswalda, by the way of Landsberg. A reinforcement was immediately sent to our picquet-guard in the suburb, amounting, by this junction, to three hundred men, who were soon attacked by the enemy, and the skirmish lasted from four till seven o'clock in the evening. During this dispute, we could plainly perceive, from our ramparts and church-steeple, several persons of distinction mounted on English horses, reconnoitring our fortification through perspective glasses. They retired, however, when our cannon began to fire: then our piquet took possession of their former post in the suburb; and the reinforcement we had sent from the city returned, after having broken down the bridge over the Oder. Next day Count Dohna, who commanded the army near Frankfort, sent in a reinforcement of four battalions, ten squadrons, and a small body of hussars, under the command of Lieutenant-General Scherlemmer. The hussars and a body of dragoons were added to the piquet of the little suburb; the four battalions pitched their tents on the Anger, between the suburb and fortification; and the rest of the dragoons remained in the field, to cover the long suburb. General Scherlemmer, attended by our Governor, Colonel Schuck, went with a small party to observe the enemy; but were obliged to retire, and were pursued by the cossacks to the walls of the city. Between four and five o'clock next morning the poor inhabitants were roused from their sleep by the noise of the cannon, intermingled with the dismal shrieks and hideous yellings of the cossacks belonging to the Russian army. Alarmed at this horrid noise, I ascended the church-steeple, from whence

nonade was renewed against the enemy, who, nevertheless, maintained that position, without flinching. On the twenty-seventh, they seemed determined to hazard

whence I beheld the whole plain, extending from the little suburb to the forest, covered with the enemy's troops, and our light horse, supported by the infantry, engaged in different places with their irregulars. At eight I descried a body of the enemy's infantry, whose van consisted of four or five thousand men, advancing towards the vineyard, in the neighbourhood of which they had raised occasional batteries in the preceding evening; from these they now played on our piquet-guard and hussars, who were obliged to retire. They then fired, *en ricochet*, on the tents and baggage of the four battalions encamped on the Anger, who were also compelled to retreat. Having thus cleared the environs, they threw into the city such a number of bombs and red hot bullets, that by nine in the morning it was set on fire in three different places; and the streets being narrow, burned with such fury, that all our endeavours to extinguish it proved ineffectual. At this time the whole atmosphere appeared like a shower of fiery rain and hail; and the miserable inhabitants thought of nothing but saving their lives by running into the open fields. The whole place was filled with terror and consternation, and resounded with the shrieks of women and children, who ran about in the utmost distraction, exposed to the shot and the bomb shells, which bursting, tore in pieces every thing that stood in their way. As I led my wife, with a young child in her arms, and drove the rest of my children and servants half naked before me, those instruments of death and devastation fell about us like hail; but, by the mercy of God, we all escaped unhurt. Nothing could be more melancholy and affecting than a sight of the wretched people, flying in crowds, and leaving their all behind, while they rent the sky with their lamentations. Many women of distinction I saw without shoes and stockings, and almost without clothes, who had been roused from their beds, and ran out naked into the streets. When my family had reached the open plain I endeavoured to return, and save some of my effects; but I could not force my way through a multitude of people, thronging out at the gate, some sick and bed-ridden persons being carried on horseback and in carriages, and others conveyed on the backs of their friends, through a most dreadful scene of horror and desolation. A great number of families from the open country, and defenceless towns in Prussia and Pomerania, had come hither for shelter with their most valuable effects, when the Russians first entered the King's territories. These, as well as the inhabitants, are all ruined; and many, who a few days ago possessed considerable wealth, are now reduced to the utmost indigence. The neighbouring towns and villages were soon crowded with the people of Custrin; the roads were filled with objects of misery; and nothing was seen but nakedness and despair; nothing heard but the cries of hunger, fear, and distraction. For my own part, I stayed all night at Goltz, and then proceeded for Berlin. Custrin is now in a heap of ruins. The great magazine, the Governor's house, the church, the palace, the store and artillery houses, in a word, the old and new towns, the suburbs, and all the bridges, were reduced to ashes; nay, after the ashes were destroyed, the piles and sterlings were burned to the water's edge. The writings of all the colleges, together with the archives of the country, were totally consumed, together with a prodigious magazine

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hazard another action, and even attack the conquerors: instead of advancing, however, they took the route of Landsberg; but afterwards turned off towards Vietzel, and posted themselves between the rivers Warta and that village. Immediately after the battle, General Fermer *, who had received a slight wound in the action, sent a trumpet, with a letter to Lieutenant-General Dohna, desiring a suspension of arms for two or three days to bury the dead, and take care of the wounded; and presenting to his Prussian Majesty the humble request of General Browne, who was much weakened with the loss of blood, that he might have a passport, by virtue of which he could be removed to a place where he should find such accommodation as his situation required. In answer to this message, Count Dohna gave the Russian General to understand, that as his Prussian Majesty remained master of the field, he would give the necessary orders for interring the dead, and taking care of the wounded on both sides: he refused a suspension of arms, but granted the request of General Browne; and concluded his letter by complaining of the outrages which the Russian troops still continued to commit, in pillaging and burning the King's villages.

zine of corn and flour, valued at four millions of crowns. The cannon in the arsenal were all melted; and the loaded bombs and cartridges, with a large quantity of gunpowder, went off at once with a most horrible explosion. A great number of the inhabitants are missing, supposed to have perished in the flames, or under the ruins of the houses, or to have been suffocated in subterraneous vaults and caverns, to which they had fled for safety.

Nothing could be more inhuman, or contrary to the practice of a generous enemy, than such vengeance wreaked upon the innocent inhabitants; for the Russians did not begin to batter the fortifications until all the rest of the place was destroyed. In the course of this campaign, the Russian Cossacks are said to have plundered and burned fourteen large towns and two hundred villages, and wantonly butchered above two thousand defenceless women and children. Such monsters of barbarity ought to be excluded from all the privileges of human nature, and hunted down as wild beasts, without pity or cessation. What infamy ought those powers to incur, who employ and encourage such ruthless barbarians.

* General Fermer was of Scottish extract, and General Browne actually a native of North-Britain.

§ XXXVI.

§ XXXVI. The King of Prussia had no sooner repulsed the enemy in one quarter, than his presence was required in another. When he quitted Bohemia, Mareschal Daun, at the head of the Austrian army, and the Prince de Deuxponts, who commanded the forces of the Empire, advanced to the Elbe, in order to surround the King's brother Prince Henry, who, without immediate succour, would not have been able to preserve his footing in Saxony. The Prussian monarch, therefore, determined to support him with all possible expedition. In a few days after the battle, he began his march from Custrin with a reinforcement of twenty-four battalions and great part of his cavalry, and pursued his route with such unwearied diligence, that by the fifth day of September he reached Torgau, and on the eleventh joined his brother. Mareschal Daun had posted himself at Stolpen, to the eastward of the Elbe, in order to preserve an easy communication with the army of the Empire encamped in the neighbourhood of Koningstein; to favour the operations of General Laudohn, who had advanced through the Lower Lusatia to the frontiers of Brandenburgh; to make a diversion from the southern parts of Silesia, where a body of Austrian troops acted under the command of the Generals Haarache and De Ville; and to interrupt the communication between Prince Henry and the capital of Saxony. On the fifth day of September, the garrison in the strong fortress of Koningstein surrendered themselves prisoners of war, after a very feeble resistance, to the Prince de Deuxponts, who forthwith took possession of the strong camp at Pirna. When the King of Prussia, therefore, arrived at Dresden, he found the army of the empire in this position, and Mareschal Daun in a still stronger situation at Stolpen, with bridges of communication thrown over the Elbe, so that he could not attack them with any prospect of advantage. He had no other resolution

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to take, but that of endeavouring to cut them off from supplies of provision, and with this view he marched to Bautzen, which he occupied. This motion obliged the Austrian General to quit his camp at Stolpen, but he chose another of equal strength at Libau; yet he afterwards advanced to Rittlitz, that he might be at hand to seize the first favourable occasion of executing the resolution he had formed to attack the Prussians. The King having detached General Ratzow on his left, to take possession of Weissenberg, marched forwards with the body of his army, and posted himself in the neighbourhood of Hochkirchen, after having dislodged the Austrians from that village. Matters were now brought to such a delicate crisis, that a battle seemed inevitable, and equally desired by both parties, as an event that would determine whether the Austrians should be obliged to retreat for winter-quarters into Bohemia, or be enabled to maintain their ground in Saxony. In this situation Mareschal Daun resolved to act offensively; and formed a scheme for attacking the right flank of the Prussians by surprise. This measure was suggested to him by an oversight of the Prussians, who had neglected to occupy the heights that commanded the village of Hochkirchen, which was only guarded by a few free companies. He determined to take the advantage of a very dark night, and to employ the flower of his whole army on this important service, well knowing, that should they penetrate through the flank of the enemy, the whole Prussian army would be disconcerted, and in all probability entirely ruined. Having taken his measures with wonderful secrecy and circumspection, the troops began to move in the night between the thirteenth and fourteenth of October, favoured by a thick fog, which greatly increased the darkness of the night. Their first care was to take possession of the hill that commanded Hochkirchen, from whence they poured down upon

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the village, of which they took possession, after having cut in pieces the free companies posted there. The action began in this quarter about four in the morning, and continued several hours with great fury, for, notwithstanding the impetuous efforts of the Austrian troops, and the confusion occasioned among the Prussians by the surprise, a vigorous stand was made by some general officers, who, with admirable expedition and presence of mind, assembled and arranged the troops as they could take to their arms, and led them up to the attack without distinction of regiment, place, or precedence. While the action was obstinately and desperately maintained in this place, amidst all the horrors of darkness, carnage, and confusion, the King being alarmed, exerted all his personal activity, address, and recollection, in drawing regularity from disorder, arranging the different corps, altering positions, reinforcing weak posts, encouraging the soldiery, and opposing the efforts of the enemy; for although they made their chief impression upon the right, by the village of Hochkirchen, Mareschal Daun, in order to divide the attention of the King, made another attack upon the left, which was with difficulty sustained, and effectually prevented him from sending reinforcements to the right, where Mareschal Keith, under the greatest disadvantages, bore the brunt of the enemy's chief endeavours. Thus the battle raged till nine in the morning, when this gallant officer was shot through the heart. Prince Francis of Brunswick had met with the same fate; Prince Maurice of Anhalt was wounded and taken prisoner, and many others were either slain or disabled. As the right wing had been surprised, the tents continued standing, and greatly embarrassed them in their defence. The soldiers had never been properly drawn up in order; the enemy still persevered in their attack with successive reinforcements and redoubled resolution;

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resolution; and a considerable slaughter was made by their artillery, which they had brought up to the heights of Hochkirchen. All these circumstances concurring, could not fail to increase the confusion and disaster of the Prussians; so that about ten the King was obliged to retire to Dobreschutz, with the loss of seven thousand men, of all his tents, and part of his baggage. Nor had the Austrian General much cause to boast of his victory. His loss of men was pretty near equal to that of the Prussian monarch: and, whatever reputation he might have acquired in foiling that enterprising Prince, certainly his design did not take effect in its full extent, for the Prussians were next day in a condition to hazard another engagement. The King of Prussia had sustained no damage which he could not easily repair, except the death of Mareschal Keith, which was doubtless an irreparable misfortune *.

§ XXXVII.

* As very little notice was taken, in the detail published by authority of any part which this great man acted in the battle of Hochkirchen, and a report was industriously circulated in this kingdom, that he was surprised in his tent, naked, and half asleep, we think it the duty of a candid historian to vindicate his memory and reputation from the foul aspersion thrown by the perfidious and illiberal hand of envious malice, or else contrived to screen some other character from the imputation of misconduct. The task we are enabled to perform by a gentleman of candour and undoubted credit, who learned the following particulars at Berlin from a person that was eye-witness of the whole transaction. Field-Mareschal Keith, who arrived in the camp the very day that preceded the battle, disapproved of the situation of the Prussian army, and remonstrated to the King on that subject. In consequence of his advice, a certain General was sent with a detachment to take possession of the heights that commanded the village of Hochkirchen; but by some fatality he miscarried. Mareschal Keith was not in any tent, but lodged with Prince Francis of Brunswick, in a house belonging to a Saxon major. When the first alarm was given in the night, he instantly mounted his horse, assembled a body of the nearest troops, and marched directly to the place that was attacked. The Austrians had taken possession of the hill which the Prussian officer was sent to occupy, and this they fortified with cannon: then they made themselves masters of the village in which the free companies of Anginelli had been posted. Mareschal Keith immediately conceived the design of the Austrian General, and knowing the importance of this place, thither directed all his efforts. He in person led on the troops to the attack of the village, from whence he drove the enemy: but being overpowered by numbers continually

§ XXXVII. His Prussian Majesty remained with his army ten days at Dobreschutz, during which he endeavoured to bring the Austrians to a second engagement; but Count Daun declined the invitation, and kept his forces advantageously posted on emi-

continually pouring down from the hills, he was obliged to retire in his turn. He rallied his men, returned to the charge, and regained possession of the place: being again repulsed by fresh reinforcements of the enemy, he made another effort, entered the village a third time, and finding it untenable, ordered it to be set on fire. Thus he kept the Austrians at bay, and maintained a desperate conflict against the flower of the Austrian army, from four in the morning till nine, when the Prussians were formed, and began to file off in their retreat. During the whole dispute he rallied his troops in person, charged at their head, and exposed his life in the hottest of a dreadful fire like a private captain of grenadiers. He found it necessary to exert himself in this manner, the better to remove the bad effects of the confusion that prevailed, and in order to inspirit the troops to their utmost exertion by his voice, presence, and example. Even when dangerously wounded, at eight in the morning, he refused to quit the field; but continued to signalize himself in the midst of the carnage until nine, when he received a second shot in his breast, and fell speechless into the arms of Mr. Tibay, an English volunteer, who had attended him during the whole campaign. This gentleman, who was likewise wounded, applied to a Prussian officer for a file of men to remove the Mareschal, being uncertain whether he was entirely deprived of life. His request was granted, but the soldiers in advancing to the spot, were countermanded by another officer. He afterwards spoke on the same subject to one of the Prussian Generals, a German Prince, as he chanced to pass on horseback; when Mr. Tibay told him the Field-Mareschal was lying wounded on the field; he asked if his wounds were mortal; and the other answering he was afraid they were, the Prince shrugged up his shoulders, and rode off without further question. The body of this great officer, being thus shamefully abandoned, was soon stripped by the Austrian stragglers, and lay exposed and undistinguished on the field of battle. In this situation it was perceived by Count Lasci, son of the General of that name, with whom Mareschal Keith had served in Russia. This young Count had been the Mareschal's pupil, and revered him as his military father, though employed in the Austrian service. He recognized the body by the large scar of a dangerous wound, which General Keith had received in his thigh at the siege of Ockzakow, and could not help bursting into tears to see his honoured master thus extended at his feet, a naked, lifeless, and deserted corpse. He forthwith caused the body to be covered and interred. It was afterwards taken up, and decently buried by the curate of Hochkirchen; and finally, removed to Berlin by order of the King of Prussia, who bestowed upon it those funeral honours that were due to the dignified rank and transcendent merit of the deceased; merit so universally acknowledged, that even the Saxons lamented him as their best friend and patron, who protected them from violence and outrage, even while he acted a principal part in subjecting them to the dominion of his sovereign.

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nences planted with artillery. His aim having been frustrated at Hochkirchen, where he fought with many advantages on his side, he would not hazard another battle upon equal terms, with such an enterprising enemy, rendered more vigilant by the check he had received, already reinforced from the army of Prince Henry, and eager for an opportunity to retrieve the laurel which had been snatched from him by the wiles of stratagem, rather than by the hand of valour. Count Daun, having nothing more to hope from the active operations of his own army, contented himself with amusing the Prussian monarch in Lusatia, while the Austrian Generals, Harsche and De Ville, should prosecute the reduction of Neiss and Cosel, in Silesia, which they now actually invested. As the Prussian Monarch could not spare detachments to oppose every different corps of his enemies that acted against him in different parts of his dominions, he resolved to make up in activity what he wanted in number, and, if possible, to raise the siege of Neiss in person. With this view he decamped from Dobreschutz, and, in sight of the enemy, marched to Gorlitz without the least interruption. From thence he proceeded towards Silesia with his usual expedition, notwithstanding all the endeavours and activity of General Laudohn, who harassed the rear of the Prussians, and gained some petty advantages over them. Count Daun not only sent his detached corps to retard them in their march; but, at the same time, by another route, detached a strong reinforcement to the army of the besiegers. In the mean time, having received intelligence that the army of Prince Henry in Saxony was considerably weakened, he himself marched thither, in hopes of expelling the Prince from that country, and reducing the capital in the King's absence. Indeed, his designs were still more extensive, for he proposed to reduce Dresden, Leipsick, and Torgau at the same time; the first with the main body under

der his own direction, the second by the army of the Empire under the Prince de Deuxponts, and the third by a corps under General Haddick, while the forces directed by Laudohn should exclude the King from Lusatia. In execution of this plan he marched directly to the Elbe, which he passed at Pirna, and advanced to Dresden, which he hoped would surrender without putting him to the trouble of a formal siege. The army of Prince Henry had already retired to the westward of this capital before the Prince de Deuxponts, who had found means to cut off his communication with Leipsick, and even invested that city. During these transactions, General Haddick advanced against Torgau.

§ XXXVIII. The Field-Mareschal Count Daun appearing on the sixth day of November within sight of Dresden, at the head of sixty thousand men, encamped next day at Lockowitz, and on the eighth his advanced troops attacked the Prussian hussars and independent battalions, which were posted at Striessen and Gruenewiese. Count Schmettau, who commanded the garrison, amounting to ten thousand men, apprehensive that, in the course of skirmishing, the Austrian troops might enter the suburbs pellmell, posted Colonel Itzenplitz, with seven hundred men, in the redoubts that surrounded the suburbs, that in case of emergency they might support the irregulars: at the same time, as the houses that constituted the suburbs were generally so high as to overlook the ramparts, and command the city, he prepared combustibles, and gave notice to the magistrates that they would be set on fire as soon as an Austrian should appear within the place. This must have been a dreadful declaration to the inhabitants of these suburbs, which compose one of the most elegant towns in Europe. In these houses, which were generally lofty and magnificent, the fashionable and wealthy class of people resided, and here a number of artists carried on a variety of curi-

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ous manufactures. In vain the magistrates implored the mercy and forbearance of the Prussian Governor, and represented, in the most submissive strain, that as they were unconcerned in the war, they hoped they should be exempted from the horrors of devastation. In vain the royal family, who remained at Dresden, conjured him to spare that last refuge of distressed royalty, and allow them at least a secure residence, since they were deprived of every other comfort. He continued inflexible, or rather determined to execute the orders of his master, which indeed he could not disobey with any regard to his own safety. On the ninth day of November, about noon, the Austrian vanguard attacked the advanced post of the garrison, repelled the hussars, drove the independent battalions into the suburbs, and forced three of the redoubts, while their cannon played upon the town. The Governor, expecting a vigorous attack next day, recalled his troops within the city, after they had set fire to the suburbs. At three in the morning, the signal was made for this terrible conflagration, which in a little time reduced to ashes the beautiful suburbs of Pirna, which had so lately flourished as the seat of gaiety, pleasure, and the ingenious arts. Every bosom warmed with benevolence must be affected at the recital of such calamities. It excites not only our compassion for the unhappy sufferers, but also our resentment against the perpetrators of such enormity. Next day Mareschal Daun sent an officer to Count Schmettau, with a message, expressing his surprise at the destruction of the suburbs in a royal residence, an act of inhumanity unheard of among Christians. He desired to know if it was by the Governor's order this measure was taken; and assured him, that he should be responsible in his person, for whatever outrages had been or might be committed against a place in which a royal family resided. Schmettau gave him to understand that he had orders to defend the town to the

the last extremity, and that the preservation of what remained depended entirely on the conduct of his excellency; for, should he think proper to attack the place, he (the Governor) would defend himself from house to house, and from street to street, and even make his last effort in the royal palace, rather than abandon the city. He excused the destruction of the suburbs as a necessary measure, authorised by the practice of war; but he would have found it a difficult task to reconcile this step to the laws of eternal justice, and far less to the dictates of common humanity. Indeed, if the scene had happened in an enemy's country, or if no other step could have saved the lives and liberties of himself and his garrison, such a desperate remedy might have stood excused by the law of nature and of nations: but on this occasion he occupied a neutral city, over which he could exercise no other power and authority but that which he derived from illegal force and violence; nor was he at all reduced to the necessity of sacrificing the place to his own safety, inasmuch as he might have retired unmolested, by virtue of an honourable capitulation, which however he did not demand. Whether the peremptory order of a superior will, *in foro conscientiæ*, justify an officer who hath committed an illegal or inhuman action, is a question that an English reader will scarce leave to the determination of a German casuist with one hundred and fifty thousand armed men in his retinue. Be this as it will, Mr. Ponickau, the Saxon minister, immediately after this tragedy was acted, without waiting for his master's orders, presented a memorial to the Diet of the Empire, complaining of it as an action reserved for the history of the war which the King of Prussia had kindled in Germany, to be transmitted to future ages. He affirmed, that, in execution of Schmettau's orders, the soldiers had dispersed themselves in the streets of the Pirna and Witchen suburbs, broke open the houses and shops, set fire to the

 combustibles,

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combustibles, added fresh fuel, and then shut the doors; that the violence of the flames was kept up by red-hot balls fired into the houses, and along the streets; that the wretched inhabitants, who forsook their burning houses, were slain by the fire of the cannon and small arms; that those who endeavoured to save their persons and effects were pushed down and destroyed by the bayonets of the Prussian soldiers posted in the streets for that purpose: he enumerated particular instances of inhuman barbarity, and declared that a great number of people perished, either amidst the flames, or under the ruins of the houses. The destruction of two hundred and fifty elegant houses, and the total ruin of the inhabitants, were circumstances in themselves so deplorable, as to need no aggravation: but the account of the Saxon minister was shamefully exaggerated, and all the particular instances of cruelty false in every circumstance. Baron Plotho, the minister of Brandenburgh, did not fail to answer every article of the Saxon memorial, and refute the particulars therein alledged, in a fair detail, authenticated by certificates under the hands of the magistrates, judges, and principal inhabitants of Dresden. The most extraordinary part of this defence or vindication was the conclusion, in which the Baron solemnly assured the Diet, that the King of Prussia, from his great love to mankind, always felt the greatest emotion of soul, and the most exquisite concern, at the effusion of blood, the devastation of cities and countries, and the horrors of war, by which so many thousand fellow-creatures were overwhelmed; and that if his sincere and honest inclination to procure peace to Germany, his dear country, had met with the least regard, the present war, attended with such bloodshed and desolation, would have been prevented and avoided. He, therefore, declared that those who excited the present troubles, who, instead of extinguishing, threw oil upon the flames, must answer to

to God for the seas of blood that had been, and would be shed, for the devastation of so many countries, and the entire ruin of so many innocent individuals. Such declarations cost nothing to those hardened politicians, who, feeling no internal check, are determined to sacrifice every consideration to the motives of rapacity and ambition. It would be happy, however, for mankind, were Princes taught to believe, that there is really an omnipotent and all-judging Power, that will exact a severe account of their conduct, and punish them for their guilt, without any respect to their persons; that pillaging a whole people is more cruel than robbing a single person; and that the massacre of thousands is, at least, as criminal as a private murder.

§ XXXIX. While Count Daun was employed in making a fruitless attempt upon the capital of Saxony, the King of Prussia proceeded in his march to Neiss, which was completely invested on the third day of October. The operations of the siege were carried on with great vigour by the Austrian General, De Harsche, and the place was as vigorously defended by the Prussian Governor, Theskau, till the first day of November, when the Prussian Monarch approached, and obliged the besiegers to abandon their enterprize. M. de Harsche having raised the siege, the King detached General Fouquet with a body of troops across the river Neiss, and immediately the blockade of Cosel was likewise abandoned. De Harsche retired to Bohemia, and De Ville hovered about Jagernsdorf. The fortress of Neiss was no sooner relieved, than the King of Prussia began his march on his return to Saxony, where his immediate presence was required. At the same time, the two bodies under the Generals Dohna and Wedel penetrated by different routes into that country. The former had been left at Custrin, to watch the motions of the Russians, who had by this time retreated to the Vistula, and even crossed that river

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river at Thorn, and the other had, during the campaign, observed the Swedes, who had now entirely evacuated the Prussian territories, so that Wedel was at liberty to co-operate with the King in Saxony. He accordingly marched to Torgau, the siege of which had been undertaken by the Austrian General, Haddick, who was repulsed by Wedel, and even pursued to the neighbourhood of Eulenbourg. Wedel, being afterwards joined by Dohna, drove him from thence with considerable loss, and then raised the siege of Leipsick. Mean while, the King prosecuted his march towards the capital of Saxony, driving before him the body of Austrian troops, under Laudohn, who retreated to Zittau. On the tenth day of November Count Daun retired from Dresden, and with the army of the Empire fell back towards Bohemia; and on the twentieth the King arrived in that city, where he approved of the Governor's conduct. The Russian General foreseeing that he should not be able to maintain his ground during the winter in Pomerania, unless he could secure some sea-port on the Baltick, by which he might be supplied with provisions, detached General Palmbach, with fifteen thousand men, to besiege the town of Colberg, an inconsiderable place, very meanly fortified. It was accordingly invested on the third day of October; but the besiegers were either so ill provided with proper implements, or so little acquainted with operations of this nature, that the garrison, though feeble, maintained the place against all their attacks for six-and-twenty days; at the expiration of which they abandoned their enterprize, and cruelly ravaged the open country in their retreat. Thus, by the activity and valour of the Prussian Monarch, his Generals and officers, six sieges were raised almost at the same period, namely, those of Colberg, Neiss, Cosel, Torgau, Leipsick, and Dresden.

§ XL. The variety of fortune which the King of Prussia experienced in the course of this campaign was very remarkable; but the spirit of his conduct, and the rapidity of his motions, were altogether without example. In the former campaign we were dazzled with the lustre of his victories; in this we admire his fortitude and skill in stemming the different torrents of adversity, and rising superior to his evil fortune. One can hardly without astonishment recollect, that in the course of a few months he invaded Moravia, invested Olmutz, and was obliged to relinquish that design; that he marched through an enemy's country, in the face of a great army, which, though it harassed him in his retreat, could not, in a route of a hundred miles, obtain any advantage over him; that in spite of his disaster at Olmutz, and the difficulties of such a march, he penetrated into Bohemia, drove the enemy from Koningsgratz, executed another dangerous and fatiguing march to the Oder, defeated a great army of Russians, and returned by the way of Saxony, from whence he drove the Austrian and Imperial armies; that after his defeat at Hochkirchen, where he lost two of his best Generals, and was obliged to leave his tents standing, he baffled the vigilance and superior number of the victorious army, rushed like a whirlwind to the relief of Silesia, invaded by an Austrian army, which he compelled to retire with precipitation from that province; that, with the same rapidity of motion, he wheeled about to Saxony, and once more rescued it from the hands of his adversaries; that in one campaign he made twice the circuit of his dominions, relieved them all in their turns, and kept all his possessions entire against the united efforts of numerous armies, conducted by Generals of consummate skill and undaunted resolution. His character would have been still more complete, if his moderation had been equal to his courage; but in this particular we cannot

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not applaud his conduct. Incensed by the persecuting spirit of his enemies, he wreaked his vengeance on those who had done him no injury; and the cruelties which the Russians had committed in his dominions were retaliated upon the unfortunate inhabitants of Saxony. In the latter end of September, the president of the Prussian military directory sent a letter to the magistrates of Leipsick, requiring them, in the king's name, to pay a new contribution of six hundred thousand crowns, and to begin immediately with the payment of one-third part, on pain of military execution. In answer to this demand, the magistrates represented that the city having been exhausted by the enormous contributions already raised, was absolutely incapable of furnishing further supplies; that the trade was stagnated and ruined, and the inhabitants so impoverished, that they could no longer pay the ordinary taxes. This remonstrance made no impression. At five in the morning the Prussian soldiers assembled, and were posted in all the streets, squares, market-places, cæmeteries, towers, and steeples; then the gates being shut, in order to exclude the populace of the suburbs from the city, the senators were brought into the town-hall, and accosted by General Hauss, who told them, the King his master would have money; and if they refused to part with it the city should be plundered. To this peremptory address they replied to this effect:—"We have no "more money,—we have nothing left but life; and "we recommend ourselves to the King's mercy." In consequence of this declaration, dispositions were made for giving up the city to be plundered. Cannon were planted in all the streets, the inhabitants were ordered to remain within doors, and every house resounded with dismal cries and lamentations. The dreadful pillage, however, was converted into a regular exaction. A party of soldiers, commanded by a subaltern, went from house to house, signifying

fying to every burgher that he should produce all his specie, on pain of immediate pillage and massacre; and every inhabitant delivered up his all without further hesitation. About six in the evening, the soldiers returned to their quarters; but the magistrates were detained in confinement, and all the citizens were overwhelmed with grief and consternation. Happy Britain, who knowest such grievances only by report! When the King of Prussia first entered Saxony, at the beginning of the war, he declared he had no design to make a conquest of that electorate, but only to keep it as a depositum for the security of his own dominions, until he could oblige his enemies to acquiesce in reasonable terms of peace; but upon his last arrival at Dresden he adopted a new resolution. In the beginning of December, the Prussian directory of war issued a decree to the deputies of the States of the Electorate, demanding a certain quantity of flour and forage, according to the convention formerly settled; at the same time signifying, that though the King of Prussia had hitherto treated the Electorate as a country taken under his special protection, the face of affairs was now changed in such a manner, that for the future he would consider it in no other light than that of a conquered country. The Russians had seized in Prussia all the estates and effects belonging to the King's officers: a retaliation was now made upon the effects of the Saxon officers, who served in the Russian army. Seals were put on all the cabinets containing papers belonging to the privy-counsellors of his Polish Majesty, and they themselves ordered to depart for Warsaw at a very short warning. Though the city had been impoverished by former exactions, and very lately subjected to military execution, the King of Prussia demanded fresh contributions, and even extorted them by dint of severities that shock humanity. He surrounded the exchange with soldiers, and confining

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the merchants to straw-beds and naked apartments, obliged them to draw bills for very large sums on their foreign correspondents: a method of proceeding much more suitable to the despotism of a Persian sophi towards a conquered people who professed a different faith, than reconcileable to the character of a Protestant prince towards a peaceable nation of brethren, with whom he was connected by the common ties of neighbourhood and religion. Even if they had acted as declared enemies, and been subdued with arms in their hands, the excesses of war on the side of the conqueror ought to have ceased with the hostilities of the conquered, who, by submitting to his sway, would have become his subjects, and in that capacity had a claim to his protection. To retaliate upon the Saxons, who had espoused no quarrel, the barbarities committed by the Russians, with whom he was actually at war; and to treat as a conquered province a neutral country, which his enemies had entered by violence, and been obliged to evacuate by force of arms: was a species of conduct founded on pretences which overturn all right, and confound all reason.

§ XLI. Having recorded all the transactions of the campaign, except those in which the Swedes were concerned, it now remains that we should particularise the progress which was made in Pomerania by the troops of that nation, under the command of Count Hamilton. We have already observed, that in the beginning of the year the Prussian General, Lehwald, had compelled them to evacuate the whole province, except Stralsund, which was likewise invested. This, in all probability, would have been besieged in form, had not Lehwald resigned the command of the Prussians, on account of his great age and infirmities, and his successor Count Dohna been obliged to withdraw his troops, in order to oppose the Russian army on the other side of Pomerania. The blockade of Stralsund being consequently

consequently raised, and that part of the country entirely evacuated by the Prussians, the Swedish troops advanced again from the isle of Rugen, to which they had retired: but the supplies and reinforcements they expected from Stockholm were delayed in such a manner, either from a deficiency in the subsidies promised by France, or from the management of those who were averse to the war, that great part of the season was elapsed before they undertook any important enterprize. Indeed, while they lay encamped under the cannon of Stralsund, waiting for these supplies, their operations were retarded by the explosion of a whole ship-load of gunpowder intended for their use; an event imputed to the practices of the Prussian party in Sweden, which at this period seemed to gain ground, and even threatened a change in the ministry. At length the reinforcement arrived about the latter end of June, and their General seemed determined to act with vigour. In the beginning of July, his army being put in motion, he sent a detachment to dislodge the few Prussian troops that were left at Anclam, Demmin, and other places, to guard that frontier; and they retreated accordingly. Count Hamilton having nothing further to oppose him in the field, in a very little time recovered all Swedish Pomerania, and even made hot incursions into the Prussian territories. Mean while, a combined fleet of thirty-three Russian and seven Swedish ships of war appeared in the Baltick, and anchored between the islands of Dragoe and Amagh; but they neither landed troops, nor committed hostilities. The Swedish General advanced as far as Fehrbellin, sent out parties that raised contributions within five-and-twenty miles of Berlin, and threw the inhabitants of that capital into the utmost consternation. The King of Prussia, alarmed at their progress, dispatched General Wedel from Dresden, with a body of troops that were augmented on their march; so that, on

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the twentieth of September, he found himself at Berlin with eleven thousand effective men, at the head of whom he proceeded against Count Hamilton, while the Prince of Bevern, with five thousand, advanced on the other side from Stetin. At their approach, the Swedish commander retired, after having left a garrison of fourteen hundred men at Fehrbellin, in order to retard the Prussians, and secure the retreat of his army. The place was immediately attacked by General Wedel; and though the Swedes disputed the ground from house to house with uncommon obstinacy, he at last drove them out of the town, with the loss of one half of their number either killed or taken prisoners. The body of the Swedish army, without hazarding any other action, immediately evacuated the Prussian territories, and returned to the neighbourhood of Stralsund, intending to take winter-quarters in the isle of Rugen. Count Hamilton, either disgusted at the restrictions he had been laid under, or finding himself unable to act in such a manner as might redound to the advantage of his reputation, threw up his command, retired from the army, and resigned all his other employments.

§ XLII. The King of Prussia was not only favoured by a considerable party in Sweden, but he had also raised a strong interest in Poland, among such Palatines as had always opposed the measures of the reigning family. These were now reinforced by many patriots, who dreaded the vicinity, and suspected the designs of the Russian army. The diet of the republick was opened on the second day of November; and, after warm debates, M. Malachowski was unanimously elected Mareschal: but no sooner had the chambers of nuncios begun their deliberations, than a number of voices were raised against the encroachments of the Russian troops, who had taken up their residence in Poland; and heavy complaints were made of the damages sustained

tained from their cruelty and rapine. Great pains were taken to appease these clamours; and many were prevailed upon to refer these grievances to the King in senate; but when this difficulty seemed almost surmounted, Padhorski, the nuncio of Volhinia, stood up, and declared that he would not permit any other point to be discussed in the diet, while the Russians maintained the least footing within the territories of the republick. Vain were all the attempts of the courtiers to persuade and mollify this inflexible patriot, he solemnly protested against their proceedings, and hastily withdrew; so that the Mareschal was obliged to dissolve the assembly, and recourse was had to a *senatus consilium*, to concert proper measures to be taken in the present conjuncture. The King of Poland was, on this occasion, likewise, disappointed in his views of providing for his son, Prince Charles, in the duchy of Courland. He had been recommended by the court of Russia, and even approved by the States of that country; but two difficulties occurred. The States declared, they could not proceed to a new election during the life of their former Duke, Count Biron, who was still alive, though a prisoner in Siberia, unless their duchy should be declared vacant by the King and republick of Poland; and, according to the laws of that country, no Prince could be elected, until he should have declared himself of the Augsburgh confession. His Polish Majesty, however, being determined to surmount all obstacles his son's interest, ordered Count Malachowski, High Chancellor of Poland, to deliver to Prince Charles a diploma, by which the King granted permission to the States of Courland to elect that Prince for their Duke, and appointed the day for his election and instalment; which accordingly took place in the month of January, notwithstanding the clamour of many Polish grandees, who persisted in affirming that the King had no power to grant such permission without

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without the consent of the diet. The vicissitudes of the campaign had produced no revolutions in the several systems adopted by the different powers in Europe. The Czarina, who in the month of June had signified her sentiments and designs against the King of Prussia, in a declaration delivered to all the foreign ministers at Petersburgh, seemed now, more than ever, determined to act vigorously in behalf of the Empress-Queen of Hungary, and the unfortunate King of Poland, who still resided at Warsaw. The court of Vienna distributed among the Imperial ministers at the several courts of the Empire copies of a rescript, explaining the conduct of her Generals since the beginning of the campaign, and concluding with expressions of self-approbation to this effect: "Though the issue of the campaign be not as yet entirely satisfactory, and such as might be desired, the Imperial court enjoys, at least, the sincere satisfaction of reflecting, that, according to the change of circumstances, it instantly took the most vigorous resolutions; that it was never deficient in any thing that might contribute to the good of the common cause, and is now employed in making preparations, from which the most happy consequences may be expected."

§ XLIII. We have already hinted at a decree of the Aulick council of the Empire, published in the month of August, enjoining all directors of circles, all Imperial towns, and the noblesse of the Empire, to transmit to Vienna an exact list of all those who had disobeyed the avocatoria of the Empire, and adhered to the rebellion raised by the elector of Brandenburgh; that their revenues might be sequestered, and themselves punished in their honours, persons, and effects. As the Elector of Hanover was plainly pointed out, and, indeed, expressly mentioned in this decree, the King of Great-Britain, by the hands of Baron Gemmegen, his electoral minister, presented a memorial to the diet of the Empire

pire in the month of November, enumerating the instances in which he had exerted himself, and even exposed his life, for the preservation and aggrandisement of the House of Austria. In return for these important services, he observed, that the Empress-Queen had refused him the assistance stipulated in treaties against an invasion planned by France, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself by his friendship to that Princess; and his Imperial Majesty even denied him the dictatorial letters which he solicited; that the court of Vienna had signed a treaty with the Crown of France, in which it was stipulated that the French troops should pass the Weser, and invade the electorate of Hanover, where they were joined by the troops of the Empress-Queen, who ravaged his Britannick Majesty's dominions with greater cruelty than even the French had practised; and the same Duke of Cumberland, who had been wounded at Dettingen in the defence of her Imperial Majesty, was obliged to fight at Hastenbeck against the troops of that very Princess, in defence of his father's dominions; that she sent commissaries to Hanover, who shared with the Crown of France the contributions extorted from that Electorate: rejected all proposals of peace, and dismissed from her court the minister of Brunswick-Lunenbourg: that his Imperial Majesty, who had sworn to protect the Empire, and oppose the entrance of foreign troops destined to oppress any of the States of Germany, afterwards required the King of England to withdraw his troops from the countries which they occupied, that a French army might again have free passage into his German dominions: that the Emperor had recalled these troops, released them from their allegiance to their Sovereign, enjoined them to abandon their posts, their colours, and the service in which they were embarked, on pain of being punished in body, honour, and estate; and that the King of England himself was threatened with

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with the ban of the Empire. He took notice, that in quality of Elector, he had been accused of refusing to concur with the resolutions of the diet taken in the preceding year, of entering into alliance with the King of Prussia, joining his troops to the armies of that Prince, employing auxiliaries belonging to the States of the Empire, sending English forces into Germany, where they had taken possession of Embden, and exacting contributions in different parts of Germany. In answer to these imputations, he alledged that he could not, consistent with his own safety, or the dictates of common sense, concur with a majority, in joining his troops, which were immediately necessary for his own defence, to those which, from the arbitrary views of the court of Vienna, were led against his friend and ally, the King of Prussia, by a Prince who did not belong to the generality of the Empire, and on whom the command had been conferred, without a previous conclusum of the Germanick body; that, with respect to his alliance with the King of Prussia, he had a right, when deserted by his former allies, to seek assistance wheresoever it could be procured: and surely no just grounds of complaint could be offered against that which his Prussian Majesty lent, to deliver the electoral States of Brunswick, as well as those of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, Hesse, and Buckebourg, from the oppressions of their common enemy. Posterity, he said, would hardly believe, that at a time when the troops of Austria, the Palatinate, and Wirtemberg, were engaged to invade the countries of the Empire, other members of the Germanick body, who employed auxiliaries in their defence, should be threatened with outlawry, and sequestration. He owned, that in quality of King, he had sent over English troops to Germany, and taken possession of Embden; steps for which he was accountable to no power upon earth, although the constitutions of the Empire permit the co-estates to make

make use of foreign troops, not indeed for the purpose of invasion or conquest in Germany, but for their defence and preservation. He also acknowedged that he had resented the conduct, and chastised the injustice, of those co-estates who had assisted his enemies, and helped to ravage his dominions: inferring, that if the Crown of France was free to pillage the estates of the Duke of Brunswick, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, because they had supplied the King of England with auxiliaries; if the Empress-Queen had a right to appropriate to herself half of the contributions raised by the French King in these countries; surely his Britannick Majesty had an equal right to make those feel the burden of the war who had favoured the unjust enterprises of his enemies. He expressed his hope, that the diet, after having duly considered these circumstances would, by way of advice, propose to his Imperial Majesty that he should annul his most inconsistent mandates, and not only take effectual measures to protect the electorate and its allies, but also give orders for commencing against the Empress-Queen, as Archduchess of Austria, the Elector Palatine, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, such proceedings as she wanted to enforce against his Britannick Majesty, Elector of Brunswick-Lunenbourg. For this purpose the minister now requested their Excellencies to ask immediately the necessary instructions for their principals. The rest of this long memorial contained a justification of his Britannick Majesty's conduct in deviating from the capitulation of Closter-Seven; with a refutation of the arguments adduced, and a retortion of the reproaches levelled against the King of England, in the paper or manifesto composed and published under the direction of the French ministry, and intituled, " A Parallel of the Conduct of the King of France with that of the King of England, relative to the Breach of the Capitulation of Closter-Seven

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by the Hanoverians." But to this invective a more circumstantial answer was published: in which, among other curious particulars, the letter of expostulation, said to have been written by the Prussian Monarch to the King of Great-Britain after the defeat at Colin, is treated as an infamous piece of forgery, produced by some venal pen employed to impose upon the publick. The author also, in his endeavours to demonstrate his Britannick Majesty's aversion to a continental war, very justly observes, that "none but such as are unacquainted with the maritime force of England can believe, that, without a diversion on the continent, to employ part of the enemy's force, she is not in a condition to hope for success, and maintain her superiority at sea. England, therefore, had no interest to foment quarrels or wars in Europe; but, for the same reason, there was room to fear that France would embrace a different system: accordingly, she took no pains to conceal her views, and her envoys declared publickly, that a war upon the continent was inevitable: and that the king's dominions in Germany would be its principal object." He afterwards, in the course of his argumentation, adds, "that they must be very ignorant, indeed, who imagine that the forces of England are not able to resist those of France, unless the latter be hindered from turning all her efforts to the sea. In case of a war upon the continent, the two powers must pay subsidies: only with this difference, that France can employ her own land forces, and aspire at conquests." Such were the professed sentiments of the British ministry, founded upon eternal truth and demonstration, and openly avowed, when the business was to prove that it was not the interest of Great-Britain to maintain a war upon the continent; but, afterwards, when this continental war was eagerly espoused, fostered, and cherished by the blood and treasure of the English nation, then the partisans of that very ministry,

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which had thus declared that England, without any diversion on the continent of Europe, was an overmatch for France by sea, which may be termed the British element; then their partisans, their champions, declaimers, and dependents were taught to rise in rebellion against their former doctrine, and, in defiance of common sense and reflection, affirm that a diversion in Germany was absolutely necessary to the successful issue of England's operations in Asia, Africa, and America. Notwithstanding all the facts and arguments assembled in this elaborate memorial, to expose the ingratitude of the Empress-Queen, and demonstrate the oppressive measures adopted by the Imperial power, it remains to be proved, that the member of a community is not obliged to yield obedience to the resolutions taken, and the decrees published, by the majority of those who compose this community; especially when reinforced with the authority of the supreme magistrate, and not repugnant to the fundamental constitution on which that community was established.

§ XLIV. If the Empress-Queen was not gratified to the extent of her wishes in the fortune of the campaign, at least her self-importance was flattered in another point, which could not fail of being interesting to a Princess famed for a glowing zeal and inviolable attachment to the religion of Rome. In the month of August the Pope conferred upon her the title of Apostolical Queen of Hungary, conveyed by a brief, in which he extolled her piety, and launched out into retrospective eulogiums of her predecessors, the Princes of Hungary, who had been always accustomed to fight and overcome for the catholick faith under this holy banner. This compliment, however, she did not derive from the regard of Prosper Lambertini, who exercised the papal sway under the assumed name of Benedict XIV. That pontiff, universally esteemed for his good sense, moderation, and humanity, had breathed

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his last in the month of April, in the eighty-fourth year of his age: and in July was succeeded in the papacy by Cardinal Charles Rezzonico, Bishop of Padua, by birth a Venetian. He was formerly Auditor of the Rota; afterwards promoted to the purple by Pope Clement XII. at the nomination of the Republick of Venice; was distinguished by the title of St. Maria d'Ara Cœli, the principal convent of the Cordeliers, and nominated protector of the Pandours, or Illyrians. When he ascended the papal chair, he assumed the name of Clement XIII. in gratitude to the last of that name, who was his benefactor. Though of a disagreeable person, and even deformed in his body, he enjoyed good health, and a vigorous constitution. As an ecclesiastick, his life was exemplary; his morals were pure and unimpeached: in his character he is said to have been learned, diligent, steady, devout, and, in every respect, worthy to succeed such a predecessor as Benedict.

§ XLV. The King of Spain wisely persisted in reaping the advantages of a neutrality, notwithstanding the intrigues of the French partisans at the Court of Madrid, who endeavoured to alarm his jealousy by the conquests which the English had projected in America. The King of Sardinia sagaciously kept aloof, resolving, in imitation of his predecessors, to maintain his power on a respectable footing, and be ready to seize all opportunities to extend and promote the interest of his crown, and the advantage of his country. As for the King of Portugal, he had prudently embraced the same system of forbearance: but, in the latter end of the season, his attention was engrossed by a domestick incident of a very extraordinary nature. Whether he had, by particular instances of severity, exasperated the minds of certain individuals, and exercised his dominion in such acts of arbitrary power as excited a general spirit of disaffection among his nobility; or,

or, lastly, by the vigorous measures pursued against the encroaching Jesuits in Paraguay, and their correspondents in Portugal, had incurred the resentment of that society, we shall not pretend to determine: perhaps all these motives concurred in giving birth to a conspiracy against his life, which was actually executed at this juncture with the most desperate resolution. On the third day of September, the King, according to custom, going out in a carriage to take the air, accompanied by one domestick, was, in the night, at a solitary place near Belem, attacked by three men on horseback, armed with musquetoons, one of whom fired his piece at the coachman without effect. The man, however, terrified both on his own account and that of his Sovereign's, drove the mules at full speed; a circumstance which, in some measure, disconcerted the other two conspirators, who pursued him at full gallop, and having no leisure to take aim, discharged their pieces at random through the back of the carriage. The slugs with which they were loaded happened to pass between the King's right arm and his breast, dilacerating the parts from the shoulder to the elbow, but without damaging the bone, or penetrating into the cavity of the body. Finding himself grievously wounded, and the blood flowing a-pace, he, with such presence of mind as cannot be sufficiently admired, instead of proceeding to the palace, which was at some distance, ordered the coachman to return to Junqueria, where his principal surgeon resided, and there his wounds were immediately dressed. By this resolution, he not only prevented the irreparable mischief that might have arisen from an excessive effusion of blood; but, without all doubt, saved his life from the hands of other assassins, posted on the road to accomplish the regicide, in case he should escape alive from the first attack. This instance of the King's recollection was magnified into a miracle, on a supposition that it must have been the

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§ XLVI. The domestic occurrences of France were tissued with a continuation of the disputes between the Parliaments and Clergy, touching the bull Unigenitus. In vain the King had interposed his authority: first proposing an accommodation; then commanding the Parliament to forbear taking cognizance of a religious contest, which did not fall under

under their jurisdiction; and, thirdly, banishing their persons, and abrogating their power. He afterwards found it necessary to the peace of his dominions to recal and re-instate those venerable patriots; and being convinced of the intolerable insolence and turbulent spirit of the archbishop of Paris, had exiled that prelate in his turn. He was no sooner re-admitted to his function, than he resumed his former conduct, touching the denial of the sacraments to those who refused to acknowledge the bull Unigenitus: he even acted with redoubled zeal; intrigued with the other prelates; caballed among the inferior clergy; and not only revived, but augmented, the troubles throughout the whole Kingdom. Bishops, curates, and monks presumed to with-hold spiritual consolation from persons in extremity, and were punished by the civil power. Other Parliaments of the kingdom followed the example exhibited by that of Paris, in asserting their authority and privileges. The King commanded them to desist, on pain of incurring his indignation; they remonstrated and persevered; while the Archbishop repeated his injunctions and censures, and continued to inflame the dispute to such a dangerous degree, that he was given to understand he should be again obliged to quit the capital, if he did not proceed with more moderation. But the chief care of the French ministry was employed in regulating the finances, and establishing funds of credit for raising money to pay subsidies, and maintain the war in Europe and America. In the course of this year they had not only considerably reinforced their armies in Germany, but made surprising efforts to supply the colony of Canada with troops, artillery, stores, and ammunition, for its defence against the operations of the British forces, which greatly outnumbered the French upon the continent. The Court of Versailles practised every stratagem to elude the vigilance of the English cruisers. The ships destined

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destined for America they detached, both single and in convoys, sometimes from the Mediterranean, sometimes from their harbours in the Channel. They assembled transports in one port, in order to withdraw the attention of their enemies from another, where their convoys lay ready for sailing; and in boisterous weather, when the English could no longer block up their harbours, their store-ships came forth, and hazarded the voyage, for the relief of their American settlements. Those that had the good fortune to arrive on the coast of that continent were obliged to have recourse to different expedients for escaping the British squadrons stationed at Halifax, or cruising in the bay of St. Laurence. They either ventured to navigate the river before it was clear of the ice, so early in the spring, that the enemy had not yet quitted the harbour of Nova Scotia; or they waited on the coast of Newfoundland for such thick fogs as might screen them from the notice of the English cruisers, in sailing up the gulf; or, lastly, they penetrated through the Straits of Belleisle, a dangerous passage, which, however, led them directly into the river St. Laurence, at a considerable distance above the station of the British squadron. Though the French navy was by this time so reduced, that it could neither face the English at sea, nor furnish proper convoys for commerce, her ministry nevertheless attempted to alarm the subjects of Great-Britain with the project of an invasion. Flat-bottomed boats were built, transports collected, large ships of the line equipped, and troops ordered to assemble on the coast for embarkation; but this was no more than a feint to arouse the apprehension of the English, disconcert the administration, prejudice the national credit, and deter the government from sending forces to keep alive the war in Germany. A much more effectual method they took to distress the trade of England, by laying up their useless ships of war, and encouraging the equipment of

of stout privateers, which did considerable damage to the commerce of Great-Britain and Ireland, by cruising in the seas of Europe and America. Some of them lay close in the harbours of the Channel, fronting the coast of England, and darted out occasionally on the trading ships of this nation, as they received intelligence from boats employed for that purpose. Some chose their station in the North-sea, where a great number of captures were made upon the coast of Scotland; others cruised in the chops of the channel, and even to the westward of Ireland; but the far greater number scoured the seas in the neighbourhood of the Leeward Islands in the West-Indies, where they took a prodigious number of British ships, sailing to and from the sugar colonies, and conveyed them to their own settlements in Martinique, Guadaloupe, or St. Domingo.

§ XLVII. With respect to the war that raged in Germany, the King of Denmark wisely pursued that course, which happily preserved him from being involved in those troubles by which great part of Europe was agitated, and terminated in that point of national advantage which a King ought ever to have in view for the benefit of his people. By observing a scrupulous neutrality, he enhanced his importance among his neighbours: he saw himself courted by all the belligerent powers: he saved the blood and treasure of his subjects: he received large subsidies, in consideration of his forbearance; and enjoyed, unmolested, a much more considerable share of commerce than he could expect to carry on, even in times of universal tranquillity. He could not perceive that the Protestant religion had any thing to apprehend from the confederacy which was formed against the Prussian monarch; nor was he misled into all the expence, the perils, and disquiets of a sanguinary war, by that *ignis fatuus* which hath seduced and impoverished other opulent nations, under the specious title of the balance of power in Germany.

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Germany. Howsoever he might be swayed by private inclination, he did not think it was a point of consequence to his kingdom, whether Pomerania was possessed by Sweden or Prussia; whether the French army was driven back beyond the Rhine, or penetrated once more into the electorate of Hanover: whether the Empress-Queen was stripped of her remaining possessions in Silesia, or the King of Prussia circumscribed within the original bound of his dominion. He took it for granted that France, for her own sake, would prevent the ruin of that enterprising Monarch; and that the House of Austria would not be so impolitick, and blind to its own interest, as to permit the Empress of Russia to make and retain conquests in the Empire: but even if these powers should be weak enough to sacrifice all the maxims of sound policy to caprice or resentment, he did not think himself so deeply concerned in the event, as, for the distant prospect of what might possibly happen, to plunge headlong into a war that must be attended with certain and immediate disadvantages. True it is, he had no hereditary electorate in Germany that was threatened with invasion; nor, if he had, is it to be supposed that a Prince of his sagacity and patriotism would have impoverished his kingdom of Denmark, for the precarious defence of a distant territory. It was reserved for another nation to adopt the pernicious absurdity of wasting its blood and treasure, exhausting its revenues, loading its own back with the most grievous impositions, incurring an enormous debt, big with bankruptcy and ruin; in a word, of expending above an hundred and fifty millions sterling in fruitless efforts to defend a distant country, the entire property of which was never valued at one twentieth part of that sum; a country with which it had no natural connection, but a common alliance arising from accident. The King of Denmark, though himself a Prince of the Empire, and possessed of

of dominions in Germany, almost contiguous to the scenes of the present war, did not yet think himself so nearly concerned in the issue, as to declare himself either principal or auxiliary in the quarrel: yet he took care to maintain his forces by sea and land upon a respectable footing; and by this conduct, he not only provided for the security of his own country, but overawed the belligerent Powers, who considered him as a Prince capable of making either scale preponderate, just as he might choose to trim the balance. Thus he preserved his wealth, commerce, and consequence undiminished; and, instead of being harassed as a party, was honoured as an umpire.

§ XLVIII. The United Provinces, though as adverse as his Danish Majesty to any participation in the war, did not, however, so scrupulously observe the neutrality they professed: at least, the traders of that republick, either from an inordinate thirst of lucre, or a secret bias in favour of the enemies of Great-Britain, assisted the French commerce with all the appearance of the most flagrant partiality. We have, in the beginning of this year's transactions, observed, that a great number of their ships were taken by the English cruisers, and condemned as legal prizes, for having French property on board: that the Dutch merchants, exasperated by their losses, exclaimed against the English as pirates and robbers, petitioned the States for redress in very high terms, and even loudly clamoured for a war against Great-Britain. The charge of violence and injustice, which they brought against the English, for taking and confiscating the ships that transported to Europe the produce of the French islands in the West-Indies, they founded on the tenth article of the treaty of commerce between Great-Britain and the States-General of the United Provinces, concluded in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-eight, stipulating, That whatever shall be found on board

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the ships of the subjects of the United Provinces, though the lading, or part thereof, may belong to the enemies of Great-Britain, shall be free and unmolested, except these be prohibited goods, which are to be served in the manner described by the foregoing articles." From this article the Dutch merchants argued, that, if there be no prohibited goods on board, the English had no right to stop or molest any of their ships, or make the least enquiry to whom the merchandize belonged, whence it was brought, or whither bound. This plea the English casuists would by no means admit, for the following reasons: A general and perpetual licence to carry on the whole trade of their enemy would be such a glaring absurdity, as no convention could authorize: common sense has dictated, and Grotius declared, that no man can be supposed to have consented to an absurdity; therefore, the interpretation given by the Dutch to this article could not be supposed to be its true and genuine meaning; which, indeed relates to nothing more than the common course of trade, as it was usually carried on in time of peace. But, even should this interpretation be accepted, the article, and the treaty itself would be superseded and annulled by a subsequent treaty, concluded between the two nations in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-five, and often confirmed since that period, stipulating, in a secret article, That neither of the contracting parties should give, nor consent, that any of their subjects and inhabitants should give any aid, favour, or counsel, directly or indirectly, by land or sea, or on the fresh waters; nor should furnish, or permit the subjects or inhabitants of their respective territories to furnish any ships, soldiers, seamen, victuals, monies, instruments of war, gunpowder, or any other necessaries for making war, to the enemies of either party, of any rank or condition soever. Now, the Dutch have infringed this article in many instances during the present war, both in Europe

Europe and America; and, as they have so openly contravened one treaty, the English are not obliged to observe any other. They, moreover, forfeited all right to the observance of the treaty in question, by refusing the succours with which they were bound, in the most solemn manner, to furnish the King of Great-Britain, in case any of his territories in Europe should be attacked; for nothing could be more weak and frivolous than the allegation upon which this refusal was founded: namely, that the hostilities in Europe were commenced by the English, when they seized and confiscated the vessels of France; and they, being the aggressors, had no right to insist upon the succours stipulated in a treaty which was purely defensive. If this argument has any weight, the treaty itself can have no signification. The French, as in the present case, will always commence the war in America; and when their ships, containing reinforcements and stores for the maintenance of that war, shall be taken on the European seas, perhaps in consequence of their being exposed for that purpose, they will exclaim that the English were the aggressors in Europe, consequently deprived of all benefit accruing from the defensive treaty subsisting between them and the States-General of the United Provinces. It being impossible for the English to terminate the war, while their enemies derive the sinews of it from their commerce carried on in neutral bottoms, they are obliged to suppress such collusions, by that necessity which Grotius himself hath allowed to be a sufficient excuse for deviating from the letter of any treaty whatsoever. In time of peace no Dutch ships were permitted to carry the produce of any French sugar island, or even to trade in any of the French ports in America or the West-Indies; consequently, the treaty which they quote can never justify them in carrying on a commerce, which, as it did not exist, and was not foreseen,

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foreseen, could not possibly be guarded against when that convention was ratified. Grotius, whose authority is held in such veneration among the Dutch, has determined that every nation has a right to seize and confiscate the goods of any neutral power, which shall attempt to carry them into any place which is blocked up by that nation, either by land or sea. The French islands in the West-Indies were so blocked up by the English cruisers, that they could receive no relief from their own government, consequently no neutral power could attempt to supply them without falling under this predicament*. It was for these reasons that the King of England declared, by the mouth of Mr. Yorke, his minister plenipotentiary at the Hague, in a conference held in the month of August with the Deputies of the States-General, that though he was ready to concur in every measure that should be proposed for giving satisfaction to their High Mightinesses, with whom he had always studied to live in the most perfect union, he was nevertheless determined not to suffer the trade of the French colonies in America to be carried on by the subjects of other Powers, under the specious pretext of neutrality: nor to permit words to be interpreted as a licence to drive a trade with his enemies, which, though not particularly specified in the articles of contraband, was nevertheless rendered such in all respects, and in every sense, by the nature of the circumstances. It is not at all

* In the reign of King William, when the English and Dutch were engaged in a war against France, the northern Powers of Sweden and Denmark attempted to carry on the French commerce, under the shade of neutrality; but the Dutch and English joined in seizing the vessels that were thus employed. Complaints of these captures were made at London and the Hague, and the complainants were given to understand at both places, that these should not be allowed to carry on any trade with France, but what was usual in time of peace. In consequence of this declaration, Mr. Groning formed the design of writing a treatise on the freedom of navigation, and communicated the plan of his work to the celebrated Puffendorff, who signified his sentiments in a letter, which is preserved by the learned Barbeyrac, in his notes upon that author's treatise on the Law of Nature and Nations.

more surprising that the Dutch merchants should complain, than that the English government should persist in confiscating the ships that were found to contain the merchandise of their enemies. The individual traders of every mercantile nation will run considerable risques in extending their particular commerce, even when they know it must be detrimental to the general interest of their country. In the war maintained by the Confederates against Louis XIV. of France, the merchant ships of the Dutch carried on an uninterrupted trade to the French ports: and, notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of England, the States-General could never be prevailed upon to prohibit this commerce, which undoubtedly enabled France to protract the war. The truth is, they gave the British ministry to understand, that unless they connived at this traffick, their subjects could not possibly defray their proportion of the expense at which the war was maintained. It is well known through all Europe, that the subjects of the United Provinces reaped considerable advantage, not only from this branch of illicit trade, but also by providing for both armies in Flanders, and by the practice of stock-jobbing in England; consequently, it was not the interest, either of the States-General, or the English General, between whom there was a very good understanding, to bring that war to a speedy conclusion; nor, indeed, ought we to fix the imputation of partiality upon a whole nation, for the private conduct of individuals, influenced by motives of self-interest, which co-operate with the same energy in Holland, and among the subjects of Great-Britain. In the course of the former war, such a scandalous appetite for gain prevailed in different parts of the British dominions, that the French islands were actually supplied with provisions, slaves, and lumber, from Ireland and the British Colonies in North-America; and Martinique, in particular, must have surrendered to the

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commander of the English squadron stationed in those seas, had it not been thus supported by English subjects. Certain it is, the Dutch had some reason to complain that they were decoyed into this species of traffick by the article of a treaty, which, in their opinion, admitted of no limitation; and that the government of Great-Britain, without any previous warning, or explaining its sentiments on this subject, swept the sea at once of all their vessels employed in this commerce, and condemned them, without mitigation, to the entire ruin of many thousand families. Considering the intimate connection of mutual interest subsisting between Great-Britain and the States of the United Provinces, they seem to have had some right to an intimation of this nature, which, in all probability, would have induced them to resign all prospect of advantage from the prosecution of such traffick.

§ XLIX. Besides the universal clamour excited in Holland, and the famous memorial presented to the States-General, which we have already mentioned in another place, a deputation of merchants waited four times successively on the Princess Regent, to explain their grievances, and demand her concurrence in augmenting the navy for the preservation of their commerce. She promised to interpose her best offices with the court of Great-Britain; and those co-operating with representations made by the States-General, the English minister was empowered to open conferences at the Hague, in order to bring all matters in dispute to an amicable accommodation. These endeavours, however, proved ineffectual. The British cruisers continued to take, and the British courts to condemn, all Dutch vessels containing the produce of the French sugar islands. The merchants of Holland and Zealand renewed their complaints with redoubled clamour, and all the trading part of the nation, reinforced by the whole party that opposed the House of Orange,

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cried aloud for an immediate augmentation of the marine, and reprisals upon the pirates of England. The Princess, in order to avoid extremities, was obliged not only to employ all her personal influence with the States-General, but also to play off one faction against another, in the way of remonstrance and exclamation. As far back as the month of June, she presented a memorial to the States-General, reminding them, that in the beginning of the war between France and England, she had advised an augmentation should be made in their land forces, to strengthen the garrisons of the frontier towns, and cover the territories of the republick from invasion. She gave them to understand, that the provinces of Gueldres and Overyssel, intimidated by the proximity of two formidable armies, had resolved to demand that the augmentation of their land forces should be taken into consideration by the other provinces; and requested her to reinforce their solicitations that this measure might immediately take place. This request, she said, she the more readily granted, as she could not but be sensible of the imminent danger that threatened the republick, especially since the Hanoverian army had passed the Rhine; and as it behoved the State to put itself in a condition to hinder either army from retiring into the territories of the Republick, if it should be defeated; for, in that case, the conqueror being authorised to pursue his enemy wherever he can find him, would bring the war into the heart of their country. This representation had no other effect than that of suspending the measure which each party proposed. The Princess, in her answer to the fourth deputation of the merchants, declared that she beheld the present state of their trade with the most anxious concern; that its want of protection was not her fault, but that of the towns of Dort, Haerlem, Amsterdam, Torgau, Rotterdam, and the Brille, to whose conduct it was owing, that the forces of the State, by sea and land, were not now

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on a better footing. The deputies were afterwards referred to her minister, M. de la Larrey, to whom they represented, that the augmentation of the land forces, and the equipment of a fleet, were matters as distinct from each other as light from darkness; that there was no pressing motive for an augmentation of the army, whereas, innumerable reasons rendered the equipment of a fleet a matter of the most urgent necessity. In a few days after this representation was made, the Princess, in an assembly of the States-General, requested their High Mightinesses, that seeing their earnest and repeated efforts to induce the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and West-Friesland, to acquiesce in the proposed augmentation of forces by sea and land, had not hitherto met with success, they would now consider and deliberate upon some expedient for terminating this affair, and the sooner the better, in order, on one hand, to satisfy the strong and well-grounded instances made by the provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, Overyssel, and Groningen; and, on the other, to comply with the ardent and just desires expressed by the commercial inhabitants of the country. She told them, that the deputation which waited on her consisted of forty merchants, a number that merited attention no less than the speech they pronounced, of which a great number of printed copies were distributed through all parts of the country. Without making any particular remarks on the harangue, she only observed, that the drift of it did not tend to facilitate the negociation begun with Great-Britain, nor to induce the nation to prefer a convention to a rupture with that crown. From this circumstance she inferred, it was more than time to finish the deliberations on the proposal for augmenting the forces both by sea and land; a measure, without which she was convinced in her conscience the State was, and would always remain, exposed

exposed to all sorts of misfortune and danger, both now and hereafter.

§ L. In consequence of this interposition, the States-General that same day sent a letter to the States of Holland and West-Friesland, communicating the sentiments of the Princess-Regent, and insisting upon the necessity of complying with her proposal of the double augmentation. They observed, that an augmentation of the land forces, for the defence of the frontiers, was unavoidable, as well as an equipment by sea for the security of commerce: that the States of the provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, Overyssel, and Groningen, joined with them in the same opinion; and accordingly had insisted, by divers letters and propositions, on those two points so essential to the publick interest. They represented the danger of delay, and the fatal effects of discord: they proposed, that by a reciprocal indulgence one party should comply with the sentiments of the other, in order to avoid a schism and dangerous division among the Confederates, the consequences of which would be very deplorable; while the republick, in the mean time, would remain in a defenceless condition, both by sea and land, and depend upon the arbitrary power of its neighbours. They conjured them, therefore, as they valued the safety of their country, and all that was dear to them, as they regarded the protection of the good inhabitants, the concord and harmony which at all times, but especially at the present critical juncture, was of the last necessity, that they would seriously reflect upon the exhortations of her Royal Highness, as well as on the repeated instances of the majority of the Confederates, and take a wise and salutary resolution with regard to the proposed augmentation of the land forces, so that this addition, together with an equipment at sea, might, the sooner the better, be unanimously brought to a conclusion. It was undoubtedly the duty of all who wished well to their country to moderate the heat and precipita-

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tion of those, who, provoked by their losses, and stimulated by resentment, endeavoured at this period to involve their nation in a war with Great-Britain. Had matters been pushed to this extremity, in a few months the republick would, in all probability, have been brought to the brink of ruin. The Dutch were distracted by internal divisions; they were altogether unprovided for hostilities by sea; the ocean was covered with their trading vessels; and the naval armaments of Great-Britain were so numerous and powerful as to render all resistance on that element equally vain and pernicious. The English could not only have scoured the seas, and made prize of their shipping, but were also in a condition to reduce or demolish all their towns in Zealand, where they would hardly have met with any opposition.

CHAP. X.

§ I. *Domestick occurrences in Great-Britain.* § II. *Trials of Drs. Hensey and Shebbeare.* § III. *Institution of the Magdalen and Asylum.* § IV. *Society for the encouragement of arts.* § V. *Session opened.* § VI. *New treaty with the King of Prussia.* § VII. *Supplies granted.* § VIII. *King's message to the Commons.* § IX. *Bills relating to the distillery, and the exportation of corn.* § X. *Petition from the Justices of Norfolk.* § XI. *Bill for the importation of salted beef from Ireland continued.* § XII. *Regulations with respect to privateers.* § XIII. *New militia laws.* § XIV. *Act for the relief of debtors revived.* § XV. *Bills for the importation of Irish beef and tallow.* § XVI. *Act relative to Milford-haven.* § XVII. *Bill relative to the duty on pensions.* § XVIII. *Act relative to the duty on plate.* § XIX. *Cambrick act.* § XX. *Unsuccessful bills.* § XXI. *Case of the insolvent debtors.* § XXII. *Case of Captain Walker.* § XXIII. *Remarks on the bankrupt-laws.* § XXIV. *Enquiry into the state of the poor.* § XXV. *Regulations of weights and measures.* § XXVI. *Resolutions concerning the Foundling-hospital.* § XXVII. *Messages from the King to the Parliament.* § XXVIII. *Session closed.* § XXIX. *Preparations for War.* § XXX. *Death of the Princess of Orange and Princess Elizabeth Caroline.* § XXXI. *Examples made of pirates.* § XXXII. *Accounts of some remarkable murders.* § XXXIII. *Murder of Daniel Clarke.* § XXXIV. *Majority of the Prince of Wales.* § XXXV. *Resolutions concerning a new Bridge at Black-friars.* § XXXVI. *Fire in Cornhill.* § XXXVII. *Method contrived to find out the longitude.* § XXXVIII. *Installation at Oxford.* § XXXIX. *Deplorable incident at sea.* § XL. *Captures made by separate cruisers.*

cruisers. § XLI. *Captain Hood takes the Bellona.* § XLII. *And Captain Barrington the Count de St. Florentin.* § XLIII. *Captain Falkner takes a French East-Indiaman.* § XLIV. *Prizes taken in the West-Indies.* § XLV. *Engagement between the Hercules and the Florissant.* § XLVI. *Havre-de-Grace bombarded by Admiral Rodney.* § XLVII. *Adm. Boscawen defeats M. de la Clue.* § XLVIII. *Preparations made by the French for invading England.* § XLIX. *Account of Thurot.* § L. *French fleet sails from Brest.* § LI. *Admiral Hawke defeats M. de Conflans.* § LII. *Proceedings of the Irish Parliament.* § LIII. *Loyalty of the Irish catholicks.* § LIV. *Dangerous insurrection in Dublin.* § LV. *Alarm of a descent in Scotland.*

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§ I. WHILE the operations of the war were prosecuted through the four quarters of the globe, the island of Great-Britain, which may be termed the centre that gave motion to this vast machine, enjoyed all the tranquillity of the most profound peace, and saw nothing of war but the preparations and trophies, which served only to animate the nation to a desire of further conquest; for the dejection occasioned by the misfortune at St. Cas soon vanished before the prospect of victory and success. Considering the agitation naturally produced among the common people, by the practice of pressing men into the service of the navy, which, in the beginning of the year, had been carried on with unusual violence, the levy of so many new corps of soldiers, and the endeavours used in forming the national militia, very few disturbances happened to interrupt the internal repose of the nation. From private acts of malice, fraud, violence, and rapine, no community whatsoever is exempted. In the month of April, the temporary wooden bridge over the Thames, built for the conveniency of carriages and passengers, while the workmen should be employed

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in widening and repairing London-Bridge, was maliciously set on fire in the night, and continued burning till noon next day, when the ruins of it fell into the river. The destruction of this conveniency proved very detrimental to the commerce of the city, notwithstanding the vigilancy and discretion of the magistrates, in applying remedies for this misfortune. A promise of the King's pardon was offered in a publick advertisement, by the Secretary of State, and a reward of two hundred pounds by the city of London, to any person who should discover the perpetrator of such wicked outrage; but nevertheless he escaped detection. No individual, nor any society of men, could have the least interest in the execution of such a scheme, except the body of London watermen; but as no discovery was made to the prejudice of any person belonging to that society, the deed was imputed to the malice of some secret enemy to the publick. Even after a new temporary bridge was erected, another attempt was made (in all probability by the same incendiary) to reduce the whole to ashes, but happily miscarried, and a guard was appointed, to prevent any such atrocious efforts in the sequel. Dangerous tumults were raised in and about Manchester, by a prodigious number of manufacturers, who had left off working, and entered into a combination to raise, by force, the price of their labour. They had formed a regular plan, and collected large sums for the maintenance of the poorer sort, while they refused to work for their families. They insulted and abused all those who would not join in this defection; dispersed incendiary letters, and denounced terrible threats against all such as should presume to oppose their proceedings. But these menaces had no effect upon the magistrates and justices, who did their duty with such discretion and courage, that the ringleaders being singled out, and punished by law, the rest were soon reduced to order.

§ II.

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§ II. The month of June Florence Hensey, an obscure physician, and native of Ireland, who had been apprehended for treasonable practices, was tried in the court of King's bench, on an indictment for high treason. In the course of the trial it appeared that he had been employed as a spy for the French ministry: to which, in consideration of a paltry pension, he sent intelligence of every material occurrence in Great-Britain. The correspondence was managed by his brother, a Jesuit, who acted as chaplain and secretary to the Spanish ambassador at the Hague. The British resident at that court having learned from the Spanish minister some secrets relating to England, even before they were communicated to him from the English ministry, was induced to set on foot an enquiry touching the source of this information, and soon received an assurance, that the secretary of the Spanish Ambassador had a brother, a physician in London. The suspicion naturally arising from this circumstance being imparted to the ministry of England, Hensey was narrowly watched, and twenty-nine of his letters were intercepted. From the contents of these he was convicted of having given the French court the first notice of the expedition to North-America, the capture of the two ships, the Alcide and Lys, the sailing and destination of every squadron and armament, and the difficulties that occurred in raising money for the service of the publick. He had even informed them, that the secret expedition of the foregoing year was intended against Rochefort, and advised a descent upon Great-Britain, at a certain time and place, as the most effectual method of distressing the government, and affecting the publick credit. After a long trial he was found guilty of treason, and received the sentence of death usually pronounced on such occasions: but whether he earned forgiveness by some material discovery, or the minister

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found him so insensible and insignificant that he was ashamed to take his life, he escaped execution, and was pardoned, on condition of going into perpetual exile. The severity of the government was much about the same period exercised on Dr. Shebbeare, a publick writer, who, in a series of printed letters to the people of England, had animadverted on the conduct of the ministry in the most acrimonious terms, stigmatised some great names with all the virulence of censure, and even assaulted the throne itself with oblique insinuation and ironical satire. The ministry, incensed at the boldness, and still more enraged at the success of this author, whose writings were bought with avidity by the publick, determined to punish him severely for his arrogance and abuse, and he was apprehended by a warrant from the secretary's office. His sixth letter to the people of England was pitched upon as the foundation of a prosecution. After a short trial in the court of King's-Bench, he was found guilty of having written the sixth letter to the people of England, adjudged a libellous pamphlet, sentenced to stand in the pillory, to pay a small fine, to be imprisoned three years, and give security for his future good behaviour: so that, in effect, this good man suffered more for having given vent to the unguarded effusions of mistaken zeal, couched in the language of passion and scurrility, than was inflicted upon Hensey, a convicted traitor, who had acted as a spy for France, and betrayed his own country for hire.

§ III. Amidst a variety of crimes and disorders, arising from impetuosity of temper, unreined passion, luxury, extravagance, and an almost total want of police and subordination, the virtues of benevolence are always springing up to an extraordinary growth in the British soil; and here charities are often established by the humanity of individuals, which in any other country would be honoured as national institutions:

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institutions: witness the great number of hospitals and infirmaries in London and Westminster, erected and maintained by voluntary contributions, or raised by the princely donations of private founders. In the course of this year the publick began to enjoy the benefit of several admirable institutions. Mr. Henry Raine, a private gentleman of Middlesex, had, in his life-time, built and endowed an hospital for the maintenance of forty poor maidens. By his will he bequeathed a certain sum of money to accumulate at interest, under the management of trustees, until the yearly produce should amount to two hundred and ten pounds, to be given in marriage-portions to two of the maidens educated in his hospital, at the age of twenty-two, who should be the best recommended for piety and industry by the masters or mistresses whom they had served. In the month of March, the sum destined for this laudable purpose was completed: when the trustees, by publick advertisement, summoned the maidens educated in the hospital to appear on a certain day, with proper certificates of their behaviour and circumstances, that six of the most deserving might be selected to draw lots for the prize of one hundred pounds, to be paid as her marriage portion, provided she married a man of an unblemished character, a member of the church of England, residing within certain specified parishes, and approved by the trustees. Accordingly, on the first of May the candidates appeared, and the prize being gained by one young woman, in presence of a numerous assembly of all ranks, attracted by curiosity, the other five maidens, with a sixth, added in lieu of her who had been successful, were marked for a second chance on the same day of the following year, when a second prize of the same value would be presented: thus a new candidate will be added every year, that every maiden who has been educated in this hospital, and preserved her character

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without reproach, may have a chance for the noble donation, which is also accompanied with the sum of five pounds to defray the expense of the wedding entertainment. One scarce knows whether most to admire the plan, or commend the humanity of this excellent institution. Of equal and perhaps superior merit was another charitable establishment, which also took effect about this period. A small number of humane individuals, chiefly citizens of London, deeply affected with the situation of common prostitutes, who are certainly the most forlorn of all human creatures, formed a generous resolution in their favour, such as even the best men of the kingdom had never before the courage to avow. They considered that many of these unhappy creatures, so wretched in themselves, and so productive of mischief to society, had been seduced to vice in their tender years by the perfidious artifice of the other sex, or the violence of unruly passion, before they had acquired experience to guard against the one, or foresight to perceive the fatal consequences of the other: that the jewel, reputation, being thus irretrievably lost, perhaps in one unguarded moment, they were covered with shame and disgrace, abandoned by their families, excluded from all pity, regard and assistance: that, stung by self-conviction, insulted with reproach, denied the privilege of penitence and contrition, cut off from all hope, impelled by indigence, and maddened with despair, they had plunged into a life of infamy, in which they were exposed to deplorable vicissitudes of misery, and the most excruciating pangs of reflection that any human being could sustain: that, whatever remorse they might feel, howsoever they might detest their own vice, or long for an opportunity of amendment, they were entirely destitute of all means of reformation: they were not only deprived of all possibility of profiting by those precious moments of repentance, and becoming again useful members of society: but

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in order to earn a miserable subsistence, were obliged to persevere in the paths of prostitution, and act as the instruments of heaven's vengeance in propagating distemper and profligacy, in ruining the bodies and debauching the minds of their fellow-creatures. Moved to sympathy and compassion by these considerations, this virtuous band of associates determined to provide a comfortable asylum for female penitents, to which they might fly for shelter from the receptacles of vice, the miseries of life, and the scorn of mankind; where they might indulge the salutary sentiments of remorse, make their peace with heaven, accustom themselves to industry and temperance, and be profitably re-united to society, from which they had been so unhappily dissevered. The plan of this excellent institution being formed, was put in execution by means of voluntary subscription, and the house opened in Goodman's-fields, under the name of the Magdalen-hospital, in the month of August; when fifty petitions were presented by penitent prostitutes, soliciting admittance. Another asylum was also opened by the hand of private charity, on the Surry-side of Westminster-bridge, for the reception and education of female orphans, and children abandoned by their parents.

§ IV. Nor was encouragement refused to those who distinguished themselves by extraordinary talents in any branch of the liberal and useful arts and sciences, though no Mæcenas appeared among the ministers, and not the least ray of patronage glimmered from the throne. The protection, countenance, and gratification secured in other countries by the institution of academies, and the liberalities of Princes, the ingenious in England derived from the generosity of a publick, endued with taste and sensibility, eager for improvement, and proud of patronizing extraordinary merit. Several years had already elapsed since a society of private persons was instituted at London, for the encouragement of arts,

manufactures,

manufactures, and commerce. It consisted of a president, vice-president, secretary, register, collector, and other officers, elected from a very considerable number of members, who pay a certain yearly contribution for the purposes of the institution. In the course of every year they held eight general meetings in a large assembly-room, built and furnished at the common expense; besides the ordinary meetings of the society, held every week, from the second Wednesday in November to the last Wednesday in May; and, in the intermediate time, on the first and third Wednesday of every month. At these ordinary meetings, provided the number then present exceeded ten, the members had a right to proceed on business, and power to appoint such committees as they should think necessary. The money contributed by this association, after the necessary expense of the society had been deducted, was expended in premiums for planting and husbandry; for discoveries and improvements in chemistry, dying, and mineralogy; for promoting the ingenious arts of drawing, engraving, casting, painting, statuary, and sculpture; for the improvement of manufactures and machines in the various articles of hats, crapes, druggets, mills, marbled-paper, ship-blocks, spinning-wheels, toys, yarn, knitting, and weaving. They likewise allotted sums for the advantage of the British colonies in America, and bestowed premiums on those settlers who should excel in curing cochineal, planting logwood trees, cultivating olive-trees, producing myrtle-wax, making pot-ash, preserving raisins, curing safflour, making silk and wines, importing sturgeon, preparing isinglass, planting hemp and cinnamon, extracting opium and the gum of the persimon-tree, collecting stones of the mango, which should be found to vegetate in the West Indies; raising silk-grass, and laying out provincial gardens. They, moreover, allowed a gold medal, in honour of him who should compose the best treatise on the

arts

BOOK III. 1758.

arts of peace, containing an historical account of the progressive improvements of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce in the kingdom of England, with the effects of those improvements on the morals and manners of the people, and pointing out the most proper means for their future advancement. In a word, the society is so numerous, the contributions so considerable, the plan so judiciously laid, and executed with such discretion and spirit, as to promise much more effectual and extensive advantage to the publick than ever accrued from all the boasted academies of Christendom. The artists of London had long maintained a private academy for improvement in the art of drawing from living figures; but, in order to extend this advantage, which was not attained without difficulty and expense, the Duke of Richmond, a young nobleman of the most amiable character, provided a large apartment at Whitehall, for the use of those who studied the arts of painting, sculpture, and engraving; and furnished it with a collection of original plaister casts from the best antique statues and busts at Rome and Florence. Here any learner had liberty to draw, or make models, under the eye and instructions of two eminent artists; and twice a year the munificent founder bestowed premiums of silver medals on the four pupils who excelled the rest in drawing from a certain figure, and making the best model of it in basso-relievo*.

§ V.

* Among other transactions that distinguish the history of Great-Britain, scarce a year glides away without producing some incident that strongly marks the singular character of the English nation. A very extraordinary instance of this nature, relating to the late Duke of Marlborough, we shall record among the events of this year, although it derived its origin from the latter end of the last, and cannot be properly enumerated among those occurrences that appertain to general history. Towards the end of November, in the preceding year, the above-mentioned nobleman received, by the post, a letter directed "To his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, with care and speed," and containing this address:

MY LORD,

"As ceremony is an idle thing upon most occasions, more especially to persons in my state of mind, I shall proceed immediately to acquaint

§ V. On the twenty-third day of November both Houses of Parliament met at Westminster, when his Majesty

acquaint you with the motive and end of addressing this epistle to you, which is equally interesting to us both. You are to know then, that my present situation in life is such, that I should prefer annihilation to a continuance in it. Desperate diseases require desperate remedies; and you are the man I have pitched upon, either to make me or unmake yourself. As I never had the honour to live among the great, the tenour of my proposals will not be very courtly; but let that be an argument to enforce a belief of what I am now going to write. It has employed my invention for some time to find out a method of destroying another without exposing my own life: that I have accomplished, and defy the law. Now, for the application of it. I am desperate, and must be provided for. You have it in your power; it is my business to make it your inclination to serve me, which you must determine to comply with, by procuring me a genteel support for my life, or your own will be at a period, before this session of Parliament is over. I have more motives than one for singling you out upon this occasion; and I give you this fair warning, because the means I shall make use of are too fatal to be eluded by the power of physick. If you think this of any consequence, you will not fail to meet the author on Sunday next, at ten in the morning, or on Monday (if the weather should be rainy on Sunday) near the first tree beyond the style in Hyde-Park, in the foot-walk to Kensington. Secresy and compliance may preserve you from a double danger of this sort, as there is a certain part of the world where your death has more than been wished for upon other motives. I know the world too well to trust this secret in any breast but my own. A few days determine me your friend or enemy. "FELTON.

"You will apprehend that I mean you should be alone; and depend upon it, that a discovery of any artifice in this affair will be fatal to you. My safety is insured by my silence, for confession only can condemn me."

The Duke, in compliance with this strange remonstrance, appeared at the time and place appointed, on horseback and alone, with pistols before him, and the star of his order displayed, that he might be the more easily known. He had likewise taken the precaution of engaging a friend to attend in the Park, at such a distance, however, as scarce to be observable. He continued some time on the spot without seeing any person he could suspect of having wrote the letter, and then rode away: but chancing to turn his head when he reached Hyde-Park corner, he perceived a man standing at the bridge, and looking at the water, within twenty yards of the tree which was described in the letter. He forthwith rode back at a gentle pace, and passing by the person, expected to be addressed; but as no advance of this kind was made, he, in repassing, bowed to the stranger, and asked if he had not something to communicate! The man replying, "No, I don't know you;" the Duke told him his name, adding, "Now you know me, I imagine you have something to say to me." But he still answered in the negative, and the Duke rode home. In a day or two after this transaction, another letter was brought to him, couched in the following terms:

"MY LORD,

"YOU receive this as an acknowledgement of your punctuality as to the time and place of meeting on Sunday last, though it was owing to you

BOOK III. 1758. Majesty being indisposed, the session was opened by commission, and the Lord-keeper harangued them to

you it answered no purpose. The pageantry of being armed, and the ensign of your order, were useless, and too conspicuous. You needed no attendant, the place was not calculated for mischief, nor was any intended. If you walk in the west aisle of Westminster-Abbey, towards eleven o'clock on Sunday next, your sagacity will point out the person whom you will address, by asking his company to take a turn or two with you. You will not fail, on enquiry, to be acquainted with the name and place of abode. According to which direction you will please to send two or three hundred pound bank-notes the next day by the penny-post. Exert not your curiosity too early: it is in your power to make me grateful on certain terms. I have friends who are faithful, but they do not bark before they bite.

I am, &c. F."

The Duke, determining, if possible, to unveil this mystery, repaired to the Abbey at the time prescribed; and, after having walked up and down for five or six minutes, saw the very same person to whom he had spoke in Hyde-Park enter the Abbey, with another man of creditable appearance This last, after they had viewed some of the monuments, went into the choir, and the other turning back, advanced towards the duke, who accosting him, asked him if he had any thing to say to him, or any commands for him? He replied, "No, my lord, I have not."—"Sure you have," said the Duke; but he persisted in his denial. Then the duke leaving him, took several turns in the aisle, while the stranger walked on the other side. But nothing further passed between them; and although the duke had provided several persons in disguise to apprehend the delinquent, he forbore giving the signal, that, notwithstanding appearances, he might run no risque of injuring an innocent person. Not long after this second disappointment he received a third letter, to the following effect:

"My Lord,

"I AM fully convinced you had a companion on Sunday: I interpret it as owing to the weakness of human nature; but such proceeding is far from being ingenuous, and may produce bad effects, whilst it is impossible to answer the end proposed. You will see me again soon, as it were by accident, and may easily find where I go to; in consequence of which, by being sent to, I shall wait on your Grace, but expect to be quite alone, and to converse in whispers; you will likewise give your honour, upon meeting, that no part of the conversation shall transpire. These and the former terms complied with ensure your safety; my revenge, in case of non-compliance (or any scheme to expose me) will be slower, but not the less sure; and strong suspicion the utmost that can possibly ensue upon it, while the chances would be ten-fold against you. You will possibly be in doubt after the meeting, but it is quite necessary the outside should be a mask to the in. The family of the Bloods is not extinct, though they are not in my scheme."

The expression, "you will see me again soon, as it were by accident," plainly pointed at the person to whom he had spoke in the Park, and in the Abbey; nevertheless, he saw him not again, nor did he hear

to this effect. He told them, his Majesty had directed the Lords of the Commission to assure his Parliament

hear any thing further of the affair for two months, at the expiration of which the post brought him the following letter:

"May it please your Grace,

"I have reason to believe that the son of one Barnard, a surveyor, in Abingdon-buildings, Westminster, is acquainted with some secrets that nearly concern your safety: his father is now out of town, which will give you an opportunity of questioning him more privately; it would be useless to your Grace, as well as dangerous to me, to appear more publickly in this affair.

"Your sincere friend,

"ANONYMOUS."

"He frequently goes to Storey's-Gate coffee-house."

In about a week after this intimation was received, the Duke sent a person to the coffee-house, to enquire for Mr. Barnard, and tell him he would be glad to speak to him. The message was delivered, and Barnard declared he would wait upon his Grace next Thursday, at half an hour after ten in the morning. He was punctual to his appointment, and no sooner appeared than the Duke recognised him to be the person to whom he had spoke in the Park and the Abbey. Having conducted him into an apartment, and shut the door, he asked, as before, if he had any thing to communicate: and was answered as formerly, in the negative. Then the Duke repeated every circumstance of this strange transaction; to which Barnard listened with attention and surprise, yet without exhibiting any marks of conscious guilt or confusion. The Duke observing that it was matter of astonishment to see letters of such import written with the correctness of a scholar, the other replied, that a man might be very poor and very learned at the same time. When he saw the fourth letter, in which his name was mentioned, with the circumstance of his father's absence, he said, "It is very odd, my father was then out of town." An expression the more remarkable, as the letter was without date, and he could not as an innocent man, be supposed to know at what time it was written. The Duke having made him acquainted with the particulars, told him, that if he was innocent he ought to use his endeavours to detect the writer of the letters, especially of the last, in which he was expressly named. To this admonition he returned no other answer but a smile, and then withdraw.—He was afterwards taken into custody, and tried at the Old-Bailey, for sending a threatening letter, contrary to the statute; but no evidence could be found to prove the letters were of his hand-writing: nor did any presumption appear against him, except his being in Hyde-Park, and in Westminster-Abbey, at the time and place appointed in the two first letters. On the other hand, Mr. Barnard proved, that on the Sunday, when he saw the Duke in Hyde-Park, he was on his way to Kensington, on particular business, by his father's order, signified to him that very morning: that he accordingly went thither, and dined with his uncle, in company with several other persons, to whom he related what had passed between the Duke of Marlborough and him in the park: that his being afterwards in Westminster-Abbey was the effect of mere accident; that Mr. James Greenwood, his kinsman, who had lain the preceding night

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Parliament that he always received the highest satisfaction in being able to lay before them any event that might promote the honour and interest of his kingdoms; that in consequence of their advice, and enabled by the assistance which they unanimously gave, his Majesty had exerted his endeavours to carry on the war in the most vigorous manner, in order to attain that desirable end, always to be wished, a safe and honourable peace*: that it had pleased the Divine Providence to bless his measures

night at his father's house, desired him to dress himself, that they might walk together in the Park; and he did not comply with his request till after much solicitation: that he proposed to enter the Park without passing through the Abbey, but was prevailed upon by Mr. Greenwood, who expressed a desire of seeing the newly-erected monument of General Hargrave; that as he had formerly communicated to his friend the strange circumstance of the Duke's speaking to him in Hyde-Park, Mr. Greenwood no sooner saw that nobleman in the Abbey, than he gave notice to Mr. Barnard, who was very short-sighted; and that from his passing them several times, concluded he wanted to speak with Mr. Barnard alone, he quitted him, and retired into the choir, that they might commune together without interruption. It likewise appeared, from undoubted evidence, that Barnard had often mentioned openly, to his friends and acquaintance, the circumstances of what passed between him and the Duke in the Park and in the Abbey; that his father was a man of unblemished reputation, and in affluent circumstances: that he himself was never reduced to any want, or such exigence as might impel him to any desperate methods of obtaining money; that his fidelity had been often tried, and his life always irreproachable. For these reasons he was acquitted of the crime laid to his charge, and the mystery remains to this day undiscovered.

After all, the author of the letters does not seem to have had any real design to extort money, because the scheme was very ill calculated for that purpose, and indeed could not possibly take effect, without the most imminent risk of detection. Perhaps his aim was nothing more than to gratify a petulance and peculiarity of humour, by alarming the Duke, exciting the curiosity of the publick, puzzling the multitude, and giving rise to a thousand ridiculous conjectures. If any thing more was intended, and the Duke earnestly desired to know the extent of the scheme, he might, when he closeted the person suspected, have encouraged him to a declaration, by promising inviolable secresy on his word and honour, in which any man would have confided as a sacred obligation. On the whole, it is surprising that the death of the Duke, which happened in the course of this year, was never attributed to the secret practices of this incendiary correspondent, who had given him to understand, that his vengeance, though slow, would not be the less certain.

* In the month of August, the King, in quality of Elector of Hanover, having occasion for two hundred thousand pounds, a loan by subscription for that sum was opened at the Bank, and filled immediately by seven or eight money dealers of London.

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and arms with success in several parts, and to make the enemies of the nation feel, that the strength of Great-Britain is not to be provoked with impunity: that the conquest of the strong fortress of Louisbourgh, with the islands of Cape-Breton and St. John; the demolition of Frontenac, of the highest importance to his operations in America, and the reduction of Senegal, could not fail to bring great distress on the French commerce and colonies, and, in proportion, to procure great advantage to those of Great-Britain. He observed, that France had also been made sensible, that whilst her forces are sent forth to invade and ravage the dominions of her neighbours, her own coasts are not inaccessible to his Majesty's fleets and armies: a truth which she had experienced in the demolition of the works at Cherbourg, erected at a great expence, with a particular view to annoy England, as well as in the loss of a great number of ships and vessels; but no treatment, however injurious to his Majesty, could tempt him to make retaliation on the innocent subjects of that crown. He told them, that in Germany his Majesty's good brother the King of Prussia, and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, had found full employment for the enemies of France and her confederates, from which the English operations, both by sea and in America, had derived the most evident advantage; their successes, owing, under God, to their able conduct, and the bravery of his Majesty's troops, and those of his allies, having been signal and glorious. The King, moreover, commanded them to declare, that the common cause of liberty and independency was still making noble and glorious efforts against the unnatural union formed to oppress it: that the commerce of his subjects, the source of national riches, had, by the vigilant protection received from his Majesty's fleet, flourished in a manner not to be paralleled during such troubles: In this

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state of things, he said, the King, in his wisdom, thought it unnecessary to use many words to persuade them to bear up against all difficulties, effectually to stand by, and defend his Majesty, vigorously to support the King of Prussia, and the rest of his Majesty's allies, and to exert themselves to reduce their enemies to equitable terms of accommodation. He observed to the House of Commons, that the uncommon extent of this war, in different parts, occasioned it to be uncommonly expensive: that the King had ordered them to declare to the Commons, that he sincerely lamented, and deeply felt, for the burthens of his people: that the several estimates were ordered to be laid before them; and that he desired only such supplies as should be requisite to push the war with advantage, and be adequate to the necessary services. In the last place, he assured them the King took so much satisfaction in that good harmony which subsisted among his faithful subjects, that it was more proper for him now to thank them for it, than to repeat his exhortation to it: that this union, necessary at all times, was more especially so in such critical conjunctures; and his Majesty doubted not but the good effects the nation had found from it would be the strongest motives to them to pursue it.—The reader will, no doubt, be surprised to find this harangue abound with harshness of period and inelegancy of expression: he will wonder that, in particularising the successes of the year in America, no mention is made of the reduction of Fort Du-Quesne on the river Ohio; a place of great importance, both from its strength and situation, the erection of which had been one great motive to the war between the two nations: but he will be still more surprised to hear it declared from the throne, that the operations, both by sea and in America, had derived the most evident advantage from the war in Germany. An assertion the more

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extraordinary, as the British ministry, in their answer to the Parallel, which we have already mentioned; had expressly affirmed, that "none but such as are unacquainted with the maritime force of England can believe, that without a diversion on the continent, to employ part of the enemy's force, she is not in a condition to hope for success and maintain her superiority at sea. That they must be very ignorant, indeed, who imagine that the forces of England are not able to resist those of France unless the latter be hindered from turning all her efforts to the sea." It is very remarkable that the British ministry should declare that the war in Germany was favourable to the English operation by sea and in America, and almost in the same breath accuse the French King of having fomented that war. Let us suppose that France had no war to maintain in Europe; and ask in what manner she, in that case, would have opposed the progress of the British arms by sea, and in America? Her navy was reduced to such a condition that it durst not quit her harbours; her merchant-ships were all taken, her mariners confined in England, and the sea was covered with British cruisers: in these circumstances, what expedients could she have contrived for sending supplies and reinforcements to America, or for opposing the naval armaments of Great-Britain in any other part of the world?—None. Without ships and mariners, her troops, ammunition, and stores were, in this respect, as useless as money to a man ship-wrecked on a desolate island. But granting that the war in Germany had, in some measure, diverted the attention of the French ministry from the prosecution of their operations in America, (and this is granting more than ought to be allowed) the question is not whether the hostilities upon the continent of Europe prevented France from sending a great number of troops

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troops to Canada; but whether the war in Germany was either necessary or expedient for distressing the French more effectually in other parts of the world? Surely every intelligent man of candour must answer in the negative. The expence incurred by England for subsidies and armies in the empire, exceeded three millions sterling annually; and this enormous expence, without being able to protect Hanover, only served to keep theewar alive in different parts of Germany. Had one half of this sum been employed in augmenting and extending the naval armaments of Great-Britain, and in reinforcing her troops in America and the West-Indies, France would have been, at this day, deprived of all her sugar colonies, as well as of her settlements on the continent of America; and being absolutely cut off from these sources of wealth, would have found it impracticable either to gratify her subsidiaries, or to maintain such formidable armies to annoy her neighbours. These are truths, which will appear to the conviction of the publick, when the illusive spells of unsubstantial victory are dissolved, and time shall have dispersed the thick mists of prejudice which now seem to darken and perplex the understanding of the people.

§ VI. The conduct of the Administration was so agreeable to both Houses of Parliament, that in their address to the throne they expressed their unshaken zeal and loyalty to his Majesty's person, congratulated him on the success of his arms, and promised to support his measures and allies with steadiness and alacrity*. It was probably in consequence of this assurance

* That the charge of disaffection to the King's person, which was so loudly trumpeted by former ministers and their adherents against those who had honesty and courage to oppose the measures of a weak and corrupt administration, was entirely false and without foundation, appeared at this juncture, when in the midst of a cruel, oppressive, and continental war, maintained by the blood and treasure of Great-Britain, all opposition ceased in both Houses of Parliament. The addresses of thanks to

assurance that a new treaty between Great-Britain and Prussia was concluded at London on the seventh day of December, importing, That as the burthensome war, in which the King of Prussia is engaged, lays him under the necessity of making fresh efforts to defend himself against the multitude of enemies who attack his dominions, he is obliged to take new measures with the King of England, for their reciprocal defence and safety; and his Britannick Majesty hath at the same time signified his earnest desire to strengthen the friendship subsisting between the two Courts, and in consequence thereof, to conclude a formal convention, for granting to his Prussian Majesty speedy and powerful assistance, their Majesties have nominated and authorized their ministers to concert and settle the following articles:— All formal treaties between the two Crowns, particularly that signed at Westminster on the 16th day of January in the year 1756, and the convention of the 11th of April in the year 1758, are confirmed by the present convention of the 11th of April, in the year 1758 in their whole tenor, as if they were herein inserted word for word. The King of Great-Britain shall cause to be paid at London, to such person or persons as shall be authorised by the King of Prussia for that end the sum of four millions of rix-dollars, making six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling at one payment, immediately on the exchange of the ratification, if the King of Prussia shall so require. His Prussian Majesty shall employ the said sum in supporting and augmenting his forces, which shall act in such manner as shall be

to his Majesty, which are always dictated by the immediate servants of the Crown were unanimously adopted in both Houses, and not only couched in terms of applause, but even inflated with expressions of rapture and admiration. They declared themselves sensible that the operations of Great Britain, both by sea and in America, had received the most evident and important advantages from the maintenance of the war in Germany, and seemed eager to espouse any measure that might gratify the inclinations of the Sovereign.

of

BOOK III. 1758.

of the greatest service to the common cause, and contribute most to the mutual defence and safety of their said Majesties. The King of Great-Britain, both as King and Elector, and the King of Prussia, reciprocally bind themselves not to conclude with the Powers that have taken part in the present war any treaty of peace, truce, or other such like convention, but by common advice and consent, each expressly including therein the other. The ratification of the present convention shall be exchanged within six weeks, or sooner, if possible. In effect, this treaty was no other than a renewal of the subsidy from year to year, because it was not thought proper to stipulate in the first subsidiary convention an annual supply of such importance until the war should be terminated, lest the people of England should be alarmed at the prospect of such successive burthens, and the complaisance of the Commons be in some future session exhausted. On the whole, this was perhaps the most extraordinary treaty that ever was concluded; for it contains no specification of articles, except the payment of the subsidy: every other article was left to the interpretation of his Prussian Majesty.

An. 1759.

§ VII. The Parliament, having performed the ceremony of addresses to the throne, immediately proceeded to the great work of the supply. The two committees in the House of Commons were immediately established, and continued by adjournments to the month of May, by the twenty-third day of which all their resolutions were taken. They voted sixty thousand men, including fourteen thousand eight hundred and forty-five marines, for the service of the ensuing year: and for the operations by land, a body of troops, amounting to fifty-two thousand five hundred and fifty-three effective men, besides the auxiliaries of Hanover, Hesse, Brunswick, Saxe-Gotha, and Buckebourg, to the number of fifty thousand, and five battalions on the Irish establish-

establishment in actual service in America and Africa. For the maintenance of the sixty thousand men employed in the sea-service, they granted three millions one hundred and twenty thousand pounds; for the land-forces, one million two hundred fifty-six thousand one hundred and thirty pounds, fifteen shillings, and two pence; for the charge of the additional five battalions, forty thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine pounds, thirteen shillings and nine pence; for the pay of the general and staff-officers, and hospitals of the land-forces, fifty-two thousand four hundred and eighty-four pounds, one shilling and eight pence; for maintaining the garrisons in the Plantations, Gibraltar, Nova-Scotia, Newfoundland, Providence, Cape-Breton, and Senegal, the sum of seven hundred and forty-two thousand five hundred and thirty-one pounds, five shillings and seven pence; for the charge of ordnance for land-service, two hundred and twenty thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine pounds, eleven shillings, and nine pence; for extraordinary service performed by the same office, and not provided for by Parliament in the course of the preceding year, three hundred twenty-three thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven pounds, thirteen shillings, and three pence; for the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea-officers, two hundred and thirty-eight thousand four hundred and ninety-one pounds, nine shillings, and eight pence; towards the support of Greenwich-hospital, and for the out-pensioners of Chelsea-college, the sum of thirty-six thousand pounds. They allotted for one year's expence, incurred by the foreign troops in the pay of Great-Britain, one million two hundred thirty-eight thousand one hundred and seventy-seven pounds, nineteen shillings, and ten pence, over and above sixty thousand pounds for enabling his Majesty to fulfil his engagements with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, pursuant to the sepa-

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BOOK III. 1759.

rate article of a new treaty concluded between them in the month of January of this current year, stipulating, that this sum should be paid to his Serene Highness in order to facilitate the means by which he might again fix his residence in his own dominions, and by his presence give fresh courage to his faithful subjects. Eighty thousand pounds were granted for enabling his Majesty to discharge the like sum raised in pursuance of an act passed in the preceding session, and charged upon the first aids or supplies to be granted in this session of Parliament. The sum of two hundred thousand pounds was voted towards the building and repairing ships of war for the ensuing year. Fifteen thousand pounds were allowed for improving London bridge; and forty thousand on account for the Foundling-hospital. For the charge of transports to be employed in the course of the year they assigned six hundred sixty-seven thousand seven hundred and twenty-one pounds, nineteen shillings, and seven pence: for maintaining the colonies of Nova-Scotia and Georgia they bestowed twenty-five thousand two hundred and thirty-eight pounds, thirteen shillings, and five pence. To replace sums taken from the sinking fund, thirty-three thousand two huudred and fifty-two pounds, eighteen shillings, and ten pence halfpenny; for maintaining the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa, ten thousand pounds; and for paying off the mortgage on an estate devised for the endowment of a professorship in the university of Cambridge, the sum of twelve hundred and eighty pounds. For the expence of the militia they voted ninety thousand pounds: for extraordinary expences relating to the land forces, incurred in the course of last year, and unprovided for by Parliament, the sum of four hundred fifty-six thousand seven hundred and eignty-five pounds ten shillings, and five pence three farthings. For the purchase of certain lands and hereditaments, in order to secure the

the King's docks at Portsmouth, Chatham, and Plymouth, they granted thirty-six thousand nine hundred and sixty-six pounds, two shillings and ten pence. They voted two hundred thousand pounds for enabling his Majesty to give proper compensations to the respective provinces in North-America, for the expences that had been incurred in levying and maintaining troops for the service of the publick. They granted twenty thousand pounds to the East-India Company, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their settlements; and the same sum was granted for carrying on the fortification to secure the harbour of Milford. To make good several sums issued by his Majesty, for indemnifying the inn-holders and victuallers of Hampshire for the expences they had incurred in quartering the Hessian auxiliaries in England; for an addition to the salaries of Judges, and other less considerable purposes, they allowed the sum of twenty-six thousand one hundred and seventy-eight pounds, sixteen shillings, and six pence. Finally, they voted one million, upon account, for enabling the King to defray any extraordinary expence of the war, incurred or to be incurred, for the service of the current year; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies as the exigency of affairs should require. The sum of all the grants voted by the committee of supply amounted to twelve millions seven hundred sixty-one thousand three hundred and ten pounds, nineteen shillings, and five pence.

§ VIII. The Commons were still employed in deliberations on ways and means on the twenty-second day of May, when Mr. Secretary Pitt communicated to them a message from the King, couched in these terms: "His Majesty, relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful Commons, and considering that, in this critical conjuncture,

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conjuncture, emergencies may arise, which may be of the utmost importance and be attended with the most pernicious consequences, if proper means should not immediately be applied to prevent or defeat them, is desirous that this House will enable him to defray any extraordinary expences of the war incurred or to be incurred, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, and to take all such measures as may be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, and as the exigencies of affairs may require. This message being read, a motion was made, and agreed to *nem. con.* that it should be referred to the committee, who forthwith formed upon it the resolution, whereby one million was granted, to be raised by loans or Exchequer-bills, chargeable on the first aids that should be given in the next session. This produced a bill enabling his Majesty to raise the sum of one million, for the uses and purposes therein mentioned, comprehending a clause, allowing the Bank of England to advance on the credit of the loan therein mentioned, any sum not exceeding a million notwithstanding the act of the fifth and sixth years in the reign of William and Mary, by which the Bank was established.

§ IX. The bills relating solely to the supply being discussed and expedited, the House proceeded, as usual, to enact other laws for the advantage of the community. Petitions having been presented by the cities of Bristol and New-Sarum alledging, that since the laws prohibiting the making of low wines and spirits from grain, meal, and flour had been in force, the commonalty appeared more sober, healthy, and industrious: representing the ill consequences which they apprehended would attend the repeal of these laws, and therefore praying their continuance; a committee of the whole House resolved that the prohibition to export corn should be continued

tinued to the twenty-fourth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine; subject nevertheless to such provisions for shortening the said term of its continuance as should therefore be made by an act of that session, or by his Majesty with the advice of his Privy-council during the recess of Parliament; that the act for discontinuing the duties upon corn and flour imported, or brought in as prize, was not proper to be further continued: and that the prohibition to make low wines or spirits from any sort of grain, meal or flour should be continued to the twenty-fourth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine. Before the bill was formed on these resolutions, petitions arrived from Liverpool and Bath, to the same purport as those of Bristol and Sarum; while on the other hand a remonstrance was presented by a great number of the malt-distillers of the city and suburbs of London, alledging, that it having been deemed expedient to prohibit the distilling of spirits from any sort of grain to the twenty-fourth day of December then instant, some of the petitioners had entirely ceased to carry on the business of distilling, while others, merely with a view to preserve their customers, the compound distillers, and employ some of their servants, horses and utensils, had submitted to carry on the distillation of spirits from melasses and sugars under great disadvantages, in full hope that the said restraint would cease at the expiration of the limited time, or at least when the necessity which occasioned that restraint should be removed; that it was with great concern they observed a bill would be brought in for protracting the said prohibition, at a time when the price of all manner of grain, and particularly of wheat and barley, was considerably reduced, and, as they humbly conceived, at a reasonable medium. They expatiated

tiated on the great loss they, as well as many traders and artificers, dependents upon them, must sustain in case the said bill should be passed into a law. They prayed the House to take these circumstances into consideration, and either permit them to carry on the distillation from wheat, malt, and other grain under such restrictions as should be judged necessary; or to grant them such other relief, in respect of their several losses and incumbrances, as to the House shall seem reasonable and expedient. This petition though strenuously urged by a powerful and clamorous body without doors did not meet great encouragement within. It was ordered to lie upon the table, and an instruction was given to the committee, empowering them to receive a clause or clauses to allow the transportation of certain quantities of meal, flour, bread, and biscuit to the island of Guernsey and Jersey for the sole use of the inhabitants; and another to prohibit the making of low wines and spirits from bran. Much more attention was paid to a petition of several farmers in the county of Norfolk, representing, that their farms consisted chiefly of arable land which produced much greater quantities of corn than could be consumed within that county; that in the last harvest there was a great and plentiful crop of all sorts of grain, the greatest part of which had by unfavourable weather been rendered unfit for sale at London, or other markets for home consumption; that large quantities of malt were then lying at London, arising chiefly from the crops of barley growing in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, the sale of which was stagnated; that the petitioners being informed the House had ordered in a bill to continue the prohibition of corn exported, they begged leave to observe, that, should it pass into a law, it would be extremely prejudicial to all, and ruin many farmers of that county,

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as they had offered their corn for sale at divers ports and markets of the said county; but the merchants refused to buy it at any price, alledging its being unfit for the London Market, the great quantity of corn with which that market was already overstocked, and their not being allowed either to export it or make it into malt for exportation: they therefore prayed this prohibition might be removed, or they, the petitioners, indulged with some other kind of relief. Although this remonstrance was duly considered, the bill passed with the amendments because of the proviso, by which his Majesty in council was empowered to shorten the date of the prohibition with respect to the exportation of corn during the recess of Parliament; but the temporary restraint laid upon distillation was made absolute, without any such condition, to the no small disappointment and mortification of the distillers, who had spared no pains and expence by private solicitation and strenuous dispute in the publick papers, to recommend their cause to the favour of the community. They urged that malt spirits, when, used in moderation, far from being prejudicial to the health of individuals, were in many damp and marshy parts of the kingdom absolutely necessary for preserving the field-labourers from agues and other distempers produced by the cold and moisture of the climate; that if they were debarred the use of malt-spirits they would have recourse to French brandy, with which as they generally resided near the sea coast the smugglers would provide them almost as cheap as the malt-spirits could be afforded; thus the increased consumption of French spirit would drain the nation of ready money to a considerable amount, and prejudice the King's revenue in the same proportion. They observed, that many distillers had already quitted that branch of trade, and disposed of their materials; that

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that all of them would probably take the same resolution should the bill pass into a law, as no man could foresee when the prohibition would cease should it be continued at a time when all sorts of grain abounded in such plenty: that the very waste of materials by disuse over and above the lying out of the money would be of great prejudice to the proprietor: thus the business of distilling, by which so many families were supported, would be banished from the kingdom entirely: especially, as the expence of establishing a large distillery was so great, that no man would choose to employ his money for this purpose, judging from experience that some future accidental scarcity of corn might induce the legislature to interpose a ruinous delay in this branch of business. They affirmed, that from the excessive use of malt-spirits no good argument could be drawn against this branch of traffick no more than against any other conveniency of life: that the excessive use of common beer or ale was prejudicial to the health and morals of the people, yet no person ever thought of putting an end to the practice of brewing, in order to prevent the abuse of brewed liquors. They urged that in all parts of Great-Britain there are some parcels of land that produce nothing to advantage but a coarse kind of barley, called big, which, though neither fit for brewing nor for baking, may nevertheless be used in the distillery, and is accordingly purchased by those concerned in this branch at such an encouraging price, as enables many farmers to pay a higher rent to their landlords than they could otherwise afford: that there are every year some parcels of all sorts of grain so damaged by unseasonable weather, or other accidents, as to be rendered altogether unfit for bread or brewery, and would prove a very great misfortune to the farmer, if there was no distillery, for the use of which he could sell his

damaged

damaged commodity. They asserted, that malt-spirits were absolutely necessary for prosecuting some branches of foreign commerce, particularly the trade to the coast of Africa, for which traffick no assortment could be made up without a large quantity of geneva, of which the natives are so fond, that they will not traffick with any merchant who has not a considerable quantity, not only for sale, but also for presents to their chiefs and rulers: that the merchants of Great-Britain must either have this commodity of their own produce, or import it at a great national expence from Holland: that the charge of this importation, together with the duties payable upon it, some part of which is not to be drawn back on exportation, will render it impossible for the traders to sell it so cheap on the coast of Africa as it might be sold by the Dutch, who are the great rivals of Great-Britain in this branch of commerce. To these arguments, all of which were plausible, and some of them unanswerable, it was replied, that malt-spirits might be considered as a fatal and bewitching poison, which had actually debauched the minds, and enervated the bodies of the common people to a very deplorable degree; that, without entering further into a comparison between the use and abuse of the two liquors, beer and geneva, it would be sufficient to observe, that the use of beer and ale had produced none of those dreadful effects which were the consequences of drinking geneva; and since the prohibition of the distillery of malt-spirits had taken place, the common people were become apparently more sober, decent, healthy, and industrious; a circumstance sufficient to induce the legislature not only to intermit, but even totally to abolish the practice of distillation, which has ever been productive of such intoxication, riot, disorder, and distemper among the lower class of the people, as might be deemed the greatest evils incident to a well-regulated commonwealth. Their assertion, with

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respect to the coarse kind of barley, called big, was contradicted as a deviation from truth, inasmuch as it was used in making malt, as well as in making bread; and with respect to damaged corn, those who understood the nature of grain affirmed, that if it was spoiled to such a degree as to be altogether unfit for either of these purposes, the distillers would not purchase it at such a price as would indemnify the farmer for the charge of threshing and carriage; for the distillers are very sensible, that their greatest profit is derived from their distilling the malt made from the best barley, so that the increase of the produce far exceeded in proportion the advance of the price. It was not, however, an easy matter to prove that the distillation of malt-spirits was not necessary to an advantageous prosecution of the commerce on the coast of Guinea, as well as among the Indians in some parts of North-America. Certain it is, that in these branches of traffick, the want of geneva may be supplied by spirits distilled from sugars and melasses. After all, it must be owned, that the good and salutary effects of the prohibition were visible in every part of the kingdom, and no evil consequences ensued, except a diminution of the revenue in this article: a consideration, which at all times, ought to be sacrificed to the health and morals of the people: nor will this consideration be found of any great weight, when we reflect that the less the malt-spirit is drunk, the greater quantity of beer and ale will be consumed, and the produce of the duties and excise upon the brewery be augmented accordingly.

§ X. In the mean time, all sorts of grain continuing to fall in price, and great plenty appearing in every part of the kingdom, the justices of the peace, and of the grand juries, assembled at the general quarter sessions of the peace, held for the county of Norfolk, composed and presented to the House of Commons, in the beginning of February, a petition,

representing,

representing, that the weather proving unfavourable in the harvest, great part of the barley raised in that county was much damaged, and rendered unfit for any other use than that of being made into malt for exportation; that unless it should be speedily manufactured for that purpose, it would be entirely spoiled, and perish in the hands of the growers; a loss that must be very sensibly felt by the land-owners: they, therefore, entreated that leave might be given for the exportation of malt; and that they might be favoured with such further relief, as to the House should seem just and reasonable. In consequence of this petition, the House resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate upon the subject; and as it appeared, upon examination, that the price of grain was reduced very low, and great abundance diffused through the kingdom, they resolved, that the continuance of that part of the act prohibiting the importation of grain, ought to be abridged and shortened, and the exportation of these commodities allowed, under proper regulations, with respect to the time of such exportation, and the allowance of bounties thereupon. A bill being founded on these resolutions, was discussed, and underwent several amendments: at length it was sent with a new title to the Lords, who passed it without further alteration, and then it obtained the Royal sanction.

§ XI. While this affair was under the deliberation of the committee, the Commons unanimously issued an order for leave to bring in a bill to continue, for a limited time, the act of last session, permitting the importation of salted beef from Ireland into Great-Britain, with an instruction to receive a clause extending this permission to all sorts of salted pork, or hog-meat, as the officers of the custom-house had refused to admit hams from Ireland to an entry. The bill likewise received another considerable alteration, importing, That, instead of the duty of one shilling and three pence,

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charged by the former act on every hundred weight of salted beef or pork imported from Ireland, which was found not adequate to the duty payable for such a quantity of salt as is requisite to be used in curing and salting thereof; and to prevent as well the expence to the revenue, as the detriment and loss which would accrue to the owner and importer, from opening the casks in which the provision is generally deposited, with the pickle or brine proper for preserving the same, in order to ascertain the net weight of the provision liable to the said duties; for these reasons it was enacted, That from and after the twenty-fourth day of last December, and during the continuance of this act, a duty of three shillings and four pence should be paid upon importation for every barrel or cask of salted beef or pork containing thirty-two gallons; and one shilling and three pence for every hundred weight of salted beef, called dried beef, dried neats-tongues, or dried hog-meat, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity.

§ XII. Repeated complaints having been made to the government by neutral nations, especially the Dutch, that their ships had been plundered, and their crews maltreated, by some of the English privateers, the legislature resolved to provide effectually against any such outrageous practices for the future: and with this view the Commons ordered a bill to be brought in for amending and explaining an act of the twenty-ninth year of his late Majesty's reign, intituled, "An act for the encouragement of seamen, and more speedy and effectual manning of his Majesty's navy." While the committee was employed in perusing commissions and papers relating to private ships of war, that they might be fully acquainted with the nature of the subject, a considerable number of merchants and others, inhabiting the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, presented a petition to the House, alledging, that the inhabitants of those islands, which lie in the British Channel,

nel, within sight of the French coast, had now, as well as in former wars, embarked their fortunes in equipping small privateers, which used to run in close with the French shore, and being disguised like fishing-boats, had not only taken a considerable number of prizes, to the great annoyance of the enemy, but also obtained material intelligence of their designs, on many important occasions; that these services could not be performed by large vessels, which durst not approach so near the coast, and indeed could not appear without giving the alarm, which was communicated from place to place by appointed signals. Being informed that a bill was depending, in order to prohibit privateers of small burthen, they declared that such a law, if extended to privateers equipped in those islands, would ruin such as had invested their fortunes in small privateers, and not only deprive the kingdom of the before-mentioned advantages, but expose Great-Britain to infinite prejudice from the small-armed vessels of France, which the enemy, in that case, would pour abroad over the whole Channel, to the great annoyance of navigation and commerce. They prayed, therefore, that such privateers as belonged to the islands of Guernsey and Jersey might be wholly excepted from the penalties contained in the bill, or that they (the petitioners) might be heard by their counsel, and be indulged with such relief as the House should judge expedient. This representation being referred to the consideration of the committee, produced divers amendments to the bill, which, at length, obtained the royal assent, and contained these regulations: That, after the first day of January in the present year, no commission should be granted to a privateer in Europe under the burthen of one hundred tons, the force of ten carriage guns, being three-pounders or above, with forty men at the least, unless the Lords of the Admiralty, or persons

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sons authorised by them, should think fit to grant the same to any ship of inferior force or burthen; the owners thereof giving such bail or security as should be prescribed: that the Lords of the Admiralty might at any time revoke, by an order in writing under their hands, any commission granted to a privateer; this revocation being subject to an appeal to his Majesty in council, whose determination should be final: that, previous to the granting any commission, the persons proposing to be bound, and give security, should severally make oath of their being respectively worth more money than the sum for which they were then to be bound, over and above the payment of all their just debts: that persons applying for such commissions should make application in writing, and therein set forth a particular and exact description of the vessel, specifying the burthen, and the number and nature of the guns on board, to what place belonging, as well as the name or names of the principal owner or owners, and the number of men: these particulars to be inserted in the commission; and every commander to produce such commission to the Custom-house officer who should examine the vessel, and, finding her answer the description, give a certificate thereof gratis, to be deemed a necessary clearance, without which the commander should not depart: that if, after the first day of June, any Captain of a privateer should agree for the ransom of any neutral vessel, or the cargo, or any part thereof, after it should have been taken as a prize, and in pursuance of such agreement should actually discharge such prize, he should be deemed guilty of piracy; but that, with respect to contraband merchandize, he might take it on board his own ship, with the consent of the commander of the neutral vessel, and then set her at liberty; and that no person should purloin or embezzle the said merchandize before condemnation: that no judge, or

other

other person belonging to any court of Admiralty, should be concerned in any privateer: that owners of vessels, not being under fifty, or above one hundred tons, whose commissions are declared void, should be indemnified for their loss by the publick: that a court of oyer and terminer, and gaol delivery, for the trial of offences committed within the jurisdiction of the Admiralty, should be held twice a-year in the Old-Bailey at London, or in such other place within England as the Board of Admiralty should appoint: that the judge of any court of Admiralty, after an appeal interposed, as well as before, should, at the request of the captor or claimant, issue an order for appraising the capture, when the parties do not agree upon the value, and an inventory to be taken; then exact security for the full value, and cause the capture to be delivered to the person giving such security: but, should objection be made to the taking such security, the judge should, at the request of either party, order such merchandize to be entered, landed, and sold at publick auction, and the produce to be deposited at the Bank, or in some publick securities; and in case of security being given, the Judge should grant a pass in favour of the capture. Finally, the force of this act was limited to the duration of the then war with France only. This regulation very clearly demonstrated, that whatever violences might have been committed on the ships of neutral nations, they were by no means countenanced by the legislature, or the body of the people.

§ XIII. Every circumstance relating to the reformation of the marine, must be an important object to a nation whose wealth and power depend upon navigation and commerce: but a consideration of equal weight was the establishment of the militia, which, notwithstanding the repeated endeavours of the Parliament, was found still incomplete, and in want of further assistance from the legislature. His Majesty

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Majesty having, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, recommended to the House the making suitable provision for defraying the charges of the militia during the current year, the accounts of the expence already incurred by this establishment were referred to the Committee of Supply, who, after having duly perused them, resolved, that ninety thousand pounds should be granted on account, towards defraying the charges of pay and clothing for the militia, from the last day of the last year to the twenty-fifth day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty, and for repaying a sum advanced by the King for this service. Leave was given to bring in one bill pursuant to this resolution, and another to enforce the execution of the laws relating to the militia, remove certain difficulties, and prevent the inconveniences by which it might be attended. So intent were the majority on both sides upon this national measure, that they not only carried both bills to the throne, where they received the royal assent, but they presented an address to the King, desiring his Majesty would give directions to his Lieutenants of the several counties, ridings, and places in England, to use their utmost diligence and attention for carrying into execution the several acts of Parliament relating to the militia. By this time all the individuals that constituted the representatives of the people, except such as actually served in the army, were become very well disposed towards this institution. Those who really wished well to their country had always exerted themselves in its favour: and it was now likewise espoused by those who foresaw that the establishment of a national militia would enable the administration to send the greater number of regular troops to fight the battles of Germany. Yet how zealous soever the legislature might be in promoting this institution, and notwithstanding the success with which many patriots exerted their

their endeavours through different parts of the kingdom, in raising and disciplining the militia, it was found not only difficult, but almost impracticable, to execute the intention of the Parliament in some particular counties, where the gentlemen were indolent and enervated, or in those places where they looked upon their commander with contempt. Even Middlesex itself, where the King resides, was one of the last counties in which the militia could be arrayed. In allusion to this backwardness, the preamble or first clause in one of the present acts imported, that certain counties, ridings, and places in England had made some progress in establishing the militia, without completing the same, and that, in certain other counties, little progress had been made therein, his Majesty's lieutenants and the deputy lieutenants, and all others within such counties or districts, were therefore strictly required speedily and diligently to put these acts in execution. The truth is, some of these unwarlike commanders failed through ignorance and inactivity; others gave, or offered commissions to such people as threw a ridicule and contempt upon the whole establishment, and consequently hindered many gentlemen of worth, spirit, and capacity, from engaging in the service. The mutiny-bill, and that for the regulation of the marine forces while on shore, passed through the usual forms, as annual measures, without any dispute or alteration *.

§ XIV.

* The next bill that fell under the cognizance of the House related to a law transaction, and was suggested by a petition presented in the name of the sheriffs and grantees of post-fines under the crown of England. They enumerated and explained the difficulties under which they laboured, in raising and collecting these fines within the respective counties; particularly when the estate conveyed by fine was no more than a right of reversion, in which case they could not possibly levy the post-fine, unless the purchaser should obtain possession within the term of the sheriffalty, or pay it of his own free will, as they could not distrain while the lands were in possession of the donee. They, therefore, proposed a method for raising these post-fines by a proper officer, to be appointed for that purpose; and prayed that leave might be given to bring in a bill accordingly. This petition was seconded by a message from the King, importing, that his Majesty, as far

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§ XIV. A committee having been appointed to enquire what laws were expired, or near expiring, and to report their opinion to the House touching the revival or continuation of these laws, they agreed to several resolutions; in consequence of which the following bills were brought in, and enacted into laws; namely, an act for regulating the lastage and ballastage of the river Thames; an act for continuing the law relating to the punishment of persons going armed or disguised; an act for continuing several laws near expiring; an act concerning the admeasurement of coals; an act for the relief of debtors, with respect to the imprisonment of their persons. This last was almost totally metamorphosed by alterations, amendments, and additions, among which the most remarkable were these: that where more creditors than one shall charge any prisoner in execution, and desired to have him detained in prison, they shall only respectively pay him each such weekly sum, not exceeding one shilling and sixpence per week, as the court, at the time of his being remanded, shall direct: that if any prisoner, described by the act, shall remain in prison three months after being committed, any creditor may

far as his interest was concerned, gave his consent that the House might act in this affair as they should think proper.

The Commons, in a committee of the whole House, having taken into consideration the merits of the petition, formed several resolutions; upon which a bill was founded for the more regular and easy collecting, accounting for, and paying of post-fines, which should be due to the crown, or to the grantees thereof under the crown, and for the ease of sheriffs in respect to the same. Before it passed into a law, however, it was opposed by a petition in favour of one William Daw, a lunatick, clerk of the King's silver-office, alledging, that should the bill pass, it would deprive the said Daw and his successors of an ancient fee belonging to his office, on searches made for post-fines by the under sheriffs of the several counties; therefore, praying that such provision might be made for the said lunatick as to the House should seem just and reasonable. This, and divers other petitions respecting the bill, being discussed in the committee, it underwent several amendments, and was enacted into a law; the particulars of which cannot be properly understood without a previous explanation of this method of conveying estates; a subject obscure in itself, founded upon a seeming subterfuge of law, scarce reconcileable with the dictates of common sense, and consequently improper for the pen of an historian.

compel

compel him to give into court, upon oath, an account of his real and personal estate, to be disposed of for the benefit of his creditors, they consenting to his being discharged. Why the humanity of this law was confined to those prisoners only who are not charged in execution with any debt exceeding one hundred pounds, cannot easily be conceived. A man who through unavoidable misfortunes, hath sunk from affluence to misery and indigence, is generally a greater object of compassion than he who never knew the delicacies of life, nor ever enjoyed credit sufficient to contract debts to any considerable amount; yet the latter is by this law entitled to his discharge, or at least to a maintenance in prison; while the former is left to starve in gaol, or undergo perpetual imprisonment, amidst all the horrors of misery, if he owes above one hundred pounds to a revengeful and unrelenting creditor. Wherefore, in a country, the people of which justly pique themselves upon charity and benevolence, an unhappy fellow-citizen, reduced to a state of bankruptcy by unforeseen losses in trade, should be subjected to a punishment, which, of all others, must be the most grievous to a free-born Briton, namely, the entire loss of liberty; a punishment which the most flagrant crime can hardly deserve, in a nation that disclaims the torture; for, doubtless, perpetual imprisonment must be a torture infinitely more severe than death, because protracted through a series of years spent in misery and despair, without one glimmering ray of hope, without the most distant prospect of deliverance? Wherefore the legislature should extend its humanity to those only who are the least sensible of the benefit, because the most able to struggle under misfortune; and wherefore many valuable individuals should, for no guilt of their own, be not only ruined to themselves, but lost to the community? are questions which we cannot resolve to the satisfaction of the reader. Of all imprisoned debtors,

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those who are confined for large sums may be deemed the most wretched and forlorn, because they have generally fallen from a sphere of life where they had little acquaintance with necessity, and were altogether ignorant of the arts by which the severities of indigence are alleviated. On the other hand, those of the lower class of mankind, whose debts are small in proportion to the narrowness of their former credit, have not the same delicate feelings of calamity. They are inured to hardship, and accustomed to the labour of their hands, by which, even in a prison, they can earn a subsistence. Their reverse of fortune is not so great, nor the transaction so affecting. Their sensations are not delicate; nor are they, like their betters in misfortune, cut off from hope, which is the wretch's last comfort. It is the man of sentiment and sensibility, who, in this situation, is overwhelmed with a complication of misery and ineffable distress. The mortification of his pride, his ambition blasted, his family undone, himself deprived of liberty, reduced from opulence to extreme want, from the elegancies of life to the most squalid and frightful scenes of poverty and affliction; divested of comfort, destitute of hope, and doomed to linger out a wretched being in the midst of insult, violence, riot and uproar; these are reflections so replete with horror, as to render him, in all respects, the most miserable object on the face of the earth. He, alas! though possessed of talents that might have essentially served and even adorned society, while thus restrained in prison, and affected in mind, can exert no faculty, nor stoop to any condescension, by which the horrors of his fate might be assuaged. He scorns to execute the lowest offices of menial services, particularly in attending those who are the objects of contempt or abhorrence: he is incapable of exercising any mechanick art, which might afford a happy though a scanty independence. Shrunk within his dismal cell, surrounded by haggard poverty, and her gaunt

gaunt attendants, hollow-eyed famine, shivering cold, and wan disease, he wildly casts his eyes around: he sees the tender partner of his heart weeping in silent woe; he hears his helpless babes clamorous for sustenance; he feels himself the importunate cravings of human nature, which he cannot satisfy; and groans with all the complicated pangs of internal anguish, horror, and despair. These are not the fictions of idle fancy, but real pictures, drawn from nature, of which almost every prison in England will afford but too many originals.

§ XV. Among other new measures, a successful attempt was made in favour of Ireland, by a bill, permitting the free importation of cattle from that kingdom for a limited time. This, however, was not carried through both Houses without considerable opposition, arising from the particular interests of certain counties and districts in several parts of Great-Britain, from whence petitions against the bill were transmitted to the Commons. Divers artifices were also used within doors to saddle the bill with such clauses as might overcharge the scheme, and render it odious or alarming to the publick: but the promoters of it being aware of the design, conducted it in such a manner as to frustrate all their views, and convey it safely to the throne, where it was enacted into a law. The like success attended another effort in behalf of our fellow-subjects of Ireland. The bill for the importation of Irish cattle was no sooner ordered to be brought in, than the House proceeded to take into consideration the duties then payable on the importation of tallow from the same kingdom; and several witnesses being examined, the committee agreed to a resolution, that these duties should cease and determine for a limited time. A bill being formed accordingly, passed through both Houses without opposition; though in the preceding session a bill to the same purpose had miscarried among the Peers: a miscarriage probably owing to

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their being unacquainted with the sentiments of his Majesty, as some of the duties upon tallow constituted part of one of the branches appropriated for the civil list revenue. This objection, however, was obviated in the case of the present bill, by the King's message to the House of Commons, signifying his Majesty's consent, as far as his interest was concerned in the affair. By this new act the free importation of Irish tallow was permitted for the term of five years.

§ XVI. In the month of February the Commons presented an address to his Majesty requesting that he would give directions for laying before the House an account of what had been done, since the beginning of last year, towards securing the harbour of Milford, in pursuance of any directions from his Majesty. These accounts being perused, and the King having by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, exhorted them to make provision for fortifying the said harbour, a bill was brought in to explain, amend, and render more effectual, the act of the last session relating to this subject; and, passing through both Houses, received the royal assent without opposition. By this act several engineers were added to the Commissioners formerly appointed; and it was ordained that fortifications should be erected at Peter-church-point, Westlanyon-point, and Neyland-point, as being the most proper and best situated places for fortifying the interior parts of the harbour. It was also enacted, that the Commissioners should appoint proper secretaries, clerks, assistants, and other officers, for carrying the two acts into execution, and that an account of the application of the money should be laid before Parliament, within twenty days of the opening of every session. What next attracted the attention of the House was an affair of the utmost importance to the commerce of the kingdom, which equally affected the interest of the nation, and the character of the natives. In the

the latter end of February complaint was made to the House, that since the commencement of the war, an infamous traffick had been set on foot by some merchants of London, of importing French cloths into several ports of the Levant, on account of British subjects. Five persons were summoned to attend the House, and the fact was fully proved, not only by their evidence, but also by some papers submitted to the House by the Turkey company. A bill was immediately contrived for putting a stop to this scandalous practice, reciting in the preamble, that such traffick was not only a manifest discouragement and prejudice to the woollen manufactures of Great-Britain, but also a relief to the enemy, in consequence of which they were enabled to maintain the war against these kingdoms.

§ XVII. The next object that employed the attention of the Commons was to explain and amend a law made in the last session for granting to his Majesty several rates and duties upon offices and pensions. The directions specified in the former act for levying this imposition having been found inconvenient in many respects, new regulations were now established, importing, that those deductions should be paid into the hands of receivers appointed by the King for that purpose; that all sums deducted under this act should be accounted for to such receivers, and the accounts audited and passed by them, and not by the auditors of the imprests, or of the Exchequer; that all disputes relating to the collection of this duty should be finally, and in a summary way, determined by the barons of the Exchequer in England and Scotland respectively; that the Commissioners of the land-tax should fix and ascertain the sum total or amount of the perquisites of every office and employment within their respective districts, distinct from the salary thereunto belonging, to be deducted under the said act, independently of any former valuation or assessment of the same to the

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the land-tax: and should rate or assess all offices and employments, the perquisites whereof should be found to exceed the sum of one hundred pounds per annum, at one shilling for every twenty thence arising; that the receivers should transmit to the Commissioners in every district where any office or employment is to be assessed, an account of such offices and employments, that upon being certified of the truth of their amount they might be rated and assessed accordingly; that in all future assessments of the land-tax the said offices and employments should not be valued at higher rates than those at which they were assessed towards the land-tax of the thirty-first year of the present reign; that the word perquisite should be understood to mean such profits of offices or employments as arise from fees established by custom or authority, and payable either by the crown or the subjects, in consideration of business done in the course of executing such offices and employments; and that a Commissioner possessed of any office or employment might not interfere in the execution of the said act, except in what might relate to his own employment. By the last four clauses several salaries were exempted from the payment of this duty. The objections made without doors to this new law were the accession of pecuniary influence to the crown, by the creation of a new office and officers, whereas this duty might have been easily collected and received by the Commissioners of the land-tax already appointed, and the inconsistency that appeared between the fifth and seventh clauses: in the former of these, the Commissioners of the land-tax were vested with the power of assessing the perquisites of every office within their respective districts, independent of any former valuation or assessment of the same to the land-tax; and by the latter, they are restricted from assessing any office at a higher rate, than that of the thirty-first year of the reign of George II.

§ XVIII.

§ XVIII. In the beginning of March petitions were offered to the House by the merchants of Birmingham, in Warwickshire, and Sheffield, in Yorkshire, specifying that the toy trade of these and many other towns, consisted generally of articles in which gold and silver might be said to be manufactured, though in small proportion, inasmuch as the sale of them depended upon slight ornaments of gold and silver; that by a clause passed in the last session of Parliament, obliging every person who should sell goods or wares in which any gold or silver was manufactured, to take out an annual licence of forty shillings, they the petitioners were laid under great difficulties and disadvantages: that not only the first seller, but every person through whose hands the goods or wares passed to the consumer, was required to take out the said licence; they, therefore, requested that the House would take these hardships and inequalities into consideration, and indulge them with reasonable relief. The committee, to which this affair was referred, having resolved that this imposition was found detrimental to the toy and cutlery trade of the kingdom, the House agreed to the resolution, and a bill being prepared, under the title of "An act to amend the "act made in the last session, for repealing the duty "granted by an act of the sixth year of the reign of "his late Majesty, on silver plate, and for granting "a duty on licences to be taken out by all persons "dealing in gold and silver plate," was enacted into a law by the royal sanction. By this new regulation, small quantities of gold and silver plate were allowed to be sold without licence. Instead of the duty before payable upon licences, another was granted, to be taken out by certain dealers in gold and silver plate, pawnbrokers and refiners. This affair being discussed, the House took into consideration the claims of the proprietors of lands purchased for the better securing of his Majesty's docks,

 ships,

ships, and stores at Chatham, Portsmouth, and Plymouth; and for better fortifying the town of Portsmouth, and citadel of Plymouth, in pursuance of an act passed in the last session. We have already specified the sum granted for this purpose, in consequence of a resolution of the House, upon which a bill being founded, soon passed into a law without opposition*.

§ XIX. In the month of April a bill was brought in for the more effectual preventing the fraudulent importation of cambricks; and while it was under deliberation, several merchants and wholesale drapers of the city of London presented a petition, representing the grievances to which they, and many thousands of other traders, would be subjected, should the bill, as it then stood, be passed into a law. According to their request, they were heard by their counsel on the merits of this remonstrance, and some amendments were made to the bill in their favour. At length it received the royal assent, and became a law to the following effect: It enacted, that no cambricks, French lawns, or linens of this kind, usually entered under the denomination of cambricks, should be imported after the first day of next August, but in bales, cases, or boxes, covered with sackcloth or canvas, containing each one hundred whole pieces, or two hundred half pieces, on penalty of forfeiting the whole: that cambricks and French lawns should be imported for exportation only,

* The next bill which was brought into the House related to the summons issued by the Commissioners of the Excise, and justices of the peace, for the appearance of persons offending against, or for forfeitures incurred by, the laws of Excise. As some doubts had arisen with respect to the method of summoning in such cases, this bill, which obtained the royal assent in due course, enacted that a summons left at the House, or usual place of residence, or with the wife, child, or menial servants of the person so summoned, should be held as legal notice, as well as the leaving such notice at the house, workhouse, warehouse, shop, cellar, vault, or usual place of residence, of such person, directed to him by his right or assumed name; and all dealers in coffee, tea, or chocolate, were subjected to the penalty of twenty pounds, as often as they should neglect to attend the Commissioners of Excise, when summoned in this manner.

lodged

lodged in the king's warehouses, and delivered out under like security and restrictions as prohibited East-India merchandise; and, on importation, pay only the half subsidy: that all cambricks and French lawns in the custody of any persons should be deposited, by the first of August, in the king's warehouses, the bonds thereupon be delivered up, and the drawback on exportation paid; yet the goods should not be delivered out again but for exportation: that cambricks and French lawns exposed to sale, or found in the possession of private persons, after the said day, should be forfeited, and liable to be searched for, and seized, in like manner as other prohibited and uncustomed goods are; and the offender should forfeit two hundred pounds over and above all other penalties and forfeitures inflicted by any former act: that if any doubt should arise concerning the species or quality of the goods, or the place where they were manufactured, the proof should lie on the owner; finally, that the penalty of five pounds, inflicted by a former act, and payable to the informer, or any person that should wear any cambrick or French lawns, should still remain in force, and be recoverable, on conviction, by oath of one witness, before one justice of the peace.—The last successful bill which this session produced, was that relating to the augmentation of the salaries of the judges in his Majesty's superior courts of justice. A motion having been made for an instruction to the committee of supply, to consider of the said augmentation, the Chancellor of the Exchequer acquainted the House that this augmentation was recommended to them by his Majesty. Nevertheless, the motion was opposed, and a warm debate ensued. At length, however, being carried in the affirmative, the committee agreed to certain resolutions, on which a bill was founded. While it remained under discussion, a motion was made for an instruction to the committee, that they should have power to

 receive

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receive a clause or clauses for restraining the judges, comprehended within the provisions of the bill, from receiving any fee, gift, present, or entertainment, from any city, town, borough, or corporation, or from any sheriff, gaoler, or other officer, upon their several respective circuits, and from taking any gratuity from any office or officer of any of the courts of law. Another motion was made, for a clause restraining such Judges, Barons, and Justices, as were comprehended within the provisions of the bill, from interfering, otherwise than by giving their own votes, in any election of members to serve in Parliament; but both these proposals being put to the vote, were carried in the negative. These two motions being over-ruled by the majority, the bill underwent some amendments; and, having passed through both Houses in the ordinary course, was enacted into a law by the royal sanction. With respect to the import of this act, it is no other than the establishment of the several stamp-duties, applied to the augmentation; and the appropriation of their produce in such a manner, that the crown cannot alter the application of the sums thus granted in Parliament. But, on this occasion, no attempt was made in favour of the independency of the Judges, which seems to have been invaded by a late interpretation of, or rather by a deviation from, the act of settlement; in which it is expressly ordained, that the commissions of the Judges should continue in force *quamdiu se bene gesserint;* that their salaries should be fixed, and none of them removeable but by an address of both Houses of Parliament. In was then, without all doubt, the intention of the Legislature that every Judge should enjoy his offices during life, unless convicted by legal trial of some misbehaviour, or unless both Houses of Parliament should concur in desiring his removal: but the doctrine now adopted imports, that no commission can continue in force longer than the life of the King by

 whom

whom it was granted; that therefore the commissions of the Judges must be renewed by a new King at his accession, who should have it in his power to employ either those whom he finds acting as Judges at his accession, or confer their offices on others, with no other restraint than that the condition of new commissions should be *quamdiu se bene gesserint*. Thus the office of a Judge is rendered more precarious, and the influence of the Crown receives a considerable reinforcement.

§ XX Among the bills that miscarried in the course of this session, we may number a second attempt to carry into execution the scheme which was offered last year for the more effectual manning the navy, preventing desertion, and relieving and encouraging the seamen of Great-Britain. A bill was accordingly brought in, couched in nearly the same terms which had been rejected in the last session; and it was supported by a considerable number of members, animated with a true spirit of patriotism: but to the trading part of the nation it appeared one of those plausible projects, which, though agreeable in speculation, can never be reduced into practice, without a concomitancy of greater evils than those they were intended to remove. While the bill remained under the consideration of the House, petitions were presented against it by the merchants of Bristol, Scarborough, Whitby, Kingston-upon-Hull, and Lancaster, representing, That by such a law, the trade of the kingdom, which is the nursery and support of seamen at all times, and that spirit of equipping private ships of war, which had been of distinguished service to the nation, would be laid under such difficulties as might cause a great stagnation in the former, and a total suppression of the latter; the bill, therefore, would be highly prejudicial to the marine of the kingdom, and altogether ineffectual for

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for the purposes intended. A great number of books and papers relating to trading ships and vessels, as well as to seamen, and other persons protected or pressed into the navy, and to expences occasioned by pressing men into the navy, were examined in a committee of the whole House, and the bill was improved with many amendments; nay, after it was printed and engrossed, several clauses were added by way of rider; yet still the experiment seemed dangerous. The motion for its being passed was violently opposed; warm debates ensued; they were adjourned, and resumed; and the arguments against the bill appeared at length in such a striking light, that, when the question was put, the majority declared for the negative. The regulations which had been made in Parliament during the twenty-sixth, the twenty-eighth, and thirtieth years of the present reign, for the preservation of the publick roads, being attended with some inconveniencies in certain parts of the kingdom, petitions were brought from some counties in Wales, as well as from the freeholders of Herefordshire, the farmers of Middlesex, and others, enumerating the difficulties attending the use of broad wheels in one case, and the limitation of horses used in drawing carriages with narrow wheels in the other. The matter of these remonstrances was considered in a committee of the whole House, which resolved, that the weight to be carried by all waggons and carts, travelling on the turnpike roads, should be limited. On this resolution a bill was framed, for amending and reducing into one act of Parliament the three acts before mentioned for the preservation of the publick highways: but some objections being started, and a petition interposed by the land-owners of Suffolk and Norfolk, alledging that the bill, if passed into a law, would render it impossible to bring fresh provisions from those counties to London, as the supply depended absolutely upon the quickness of conveyance, the further con-

 sideration

sideration of it was postponed to a longer day, and never resumed in the sequel: so that the attempt miscarried.

§ XXI. Of all the subjects which, in the course of this session, fell under the cognizance of Parliament, there was none that more interested the humanity, or challenged the redress, of the Legislature, than did the case of the poor insolvent debtors, who languished under all the miseries of indigence and imprisonment. In the month of February a petition was offered to the Commons in behalf of bankrupts, who represented, that having scrupulously conformed to the laws made concerning bankruptcy, by surrendering their all upon oath, for the benefit of their creditors, they had nevertheless been refused their certificates, without any probability of relief; that by this cruel refusal, many bankrupts have been obliged to abscond, while others were immured in prison, and these unhappy sufferers groaned under the particular hardship of being excluded from the benefit of laws occasionally made for the relief of insolvent debtors; that the power vested in creditors of refusing certificates to their Bankrupts was, as the petitioners conceived, founded upon a presumption that such power would be tenderly exercised, and never but in notorious cases; but the great increase in the number of bankrupts within two years past, and the small proportion of those who had been able to obtain their certificates, seemed to demonstrate that the power had been used for cruel and unjust purposes, contrary to the intention of the Legislature: that as the greater part of the petitioners, and their fellow-sufferers, must inevitably and speedily perish, with their distressd families, unless seasonably relieved by the interposition of Parliament, they implored the compassion of the House, from which they hoped immediate favour and relief. This petition was accompanied with a printed case, explaining the nature of the laws relating to bankrupts, and pointing

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pointing out their defects in point of policy as well as humanity; but little regard was seemingly paid to either remonstrance. Other petitions, however, being presented by insolvent debtors, imprisoned in different gaols within the kingdom, leave was given to bring in a bill for their relief, and a committee appointed to examine the laws relating to bankruptcy.

§ XXII. Among other petitionary remonstrances on this subject, the members were separately presented with the printed case of Captain George Walker, a prisoner in the gaol of the King's-Bench, who had been declared a bankrupt, and complained, that he had been subjected to some flagrant acts of injustice and oppression. The case contained such extraordinary allegations, and the Captain's character was so remarkably fair and interesting, that the committee, which were empowered to send for persons, papers, and records, resolved to enquire into the particulars of his misfortune. A motion was made and agreed to, that the marshal of the prison should bring the Captain before the committee; and the Speaker's warrant was issued accordingly. The prisoner was produced, and examined at several sittings; and some of the members expressed a laudable eagerness to do him justice: but his antagonists were very powerful, and left no stone unturned to frustrate the purpose of the enquiry, which was dropped of course at the end of the session. Thus the unfortunate Captain Walker, who had, in the late war, remarkably distinguished himself at sea by his courage and conduct, repeatedly signalised himself against the enemies of his country, was sent back, without redress, to the gloomy mansions of a gaol, where he had already pined for several years, useless to himself, and lost to the community, while he might have been profitably employed in retrieving his own fortune, and exerting his talents for the general advantage of the nation. While this affair was in agitation, the bill for the re-

lief of insolvent debtors was prepared, printed, and read a second time; but, when the motion was made for its being committed, a debate arose, and this was adjourned from time to time till the end of the session. In the mean time, the committee continued to deliberate upon the laws relating to bankruptcy; and in the beginning of June reported their resolution to the House, that, in their opinion, some amendments might be made to the laws concerning bankruptcy; to the advantage of creditors, and relief of insolvents. Such was the notice vouchsafed to the cries of many British subjects, deprived of liberty, and destitute of the common necessaries of life.

§ XXIII. It would engage us in a long digressive discussion, were we to enquire how the spirit of the laws in England, so famed for lenity, has been exasperated into such severity against insolvent debtors; and why, among a people so distinguished for generosity and compassion, the gaols should be more filled with prisoners than they are in any other part of Christendom. Perhaps both these deviations from a general character are violent efforts of a wary legislature made in behalf of trade, which cannot be too much cherished in a nation that principally depends upon commerce. The question is, whether this laudable aim may not be more effectually accomplished, without subjecting individuals to oppression, arising from the cruelty and revenge of one another. As the laws are modelled at present, it cannot be denied that the debtor, in some cases, lies, in a peculiar manner at the mercy of his creditor. By the original and common law of England, no man could be imprisoned for debt. The plaintiff in any civil action could have no execution upon his judgement against either the body or the lands of the defendant: even with respect to his goods and chattels, which were subject to execution, he was obliged to leave him such articles as were necessary for agriculture.

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culture. But, in process of time, this indulgence being found prejudicial to commerce, a law was enacted, in the reign of Edward the First, allowing execution on the person of the debtor, provided his goods and chattels were not sufficient to pay the debt which he had contracted. This law was still attended with a very obvious inconvenience. The debtor, who possessed an estate in lands, was tempted to secrete his moveable effects, and live in concealment on the produce of his lands, while the sheriff connived at his retirement. To remove this evil, a second statute was enacted in the same reign, granting immediate execution against the body, lands, and goods of the debtor; yet his effects could not be sold for the benefit of his creditors till the expiration of three months, during which he himself could dispose of them for ready money, in order to discharge his incumbrances. If the creditor was not satisfied in this manner, he continued in possession of the debtor's lands, and detained the debtor himself in prison, where he was obliged to supply him with bread and water for his support, until the debt was discharged. Other severe regulations were made in the sequel, particularly in the reign of Edward the Third, which gave rise to the writ of *capias ad satisfaciendum*. This, indeed, rendered the preceding laws, called statute-merchant, and statute-staple, altogether unnecessary. Though the liberty of the subject, and the security of the landholder, were thus, in some measure, sacrificed to the advantage of commerce, an imprisoned debtor was not left entirely at the mercy of an inexorable creditor. If he made all the satisfaction in his power, and could show that his insolvency was owing to real misfortunes, the Court of Chancery interposed on his petition, and actually ordered him to be discharged from prison, when no good reason for detaining him could be assigned. This interposition, which seems naturally to belong to a Court of Equity, constituted with

with a view to mitigate the rigour of the common law, ceased in all probability, after the restoration of Charles the Second, and of consequence the prisons were filled with debtors. Then the Legislature charged themselves with the extension of a power, which perhaps a Chancellor no longer thought himself safe in exercising; and in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy, passed the first act for the relief of insolvent debtors, granting a release to all prisoners for debt, without distinction or enquiry. By this general indulgence, which has even in a great measure continued in all subsequent acts of the same kind, the lenity of the Parliament may be sometimes misapplied, inasmuch as insolvency is often criminal, arising from profligacy and extravagance, which deserve to be severely punished. Yet, even for this species of insolvency, perpetual imprisonment, aggravated by the miseries of extreme indigence, and the danger of perishing through famine, may be deemed a punishment too severe. How cruel then must it be to leave the most innocent bankrupt exposed to this punishment, from the revenge or sinister design of a merciless creditor; a creditor, by whose fraud perhaps the prisoner became a bankrupt, and by whose craft he is detained in gaol, lest, by his discharge from prison, he should be enabled to seek that redress in Chancery to which he is entitled on a fair account! The severity of the law was certainly intended against fraudulent bankrupts only; and the statute of bankruptcy is, doubtless, favourable to insolvents, as it discharges from all former debts those who obtained their certificates. As British subjects, they are surely entitled to the same indulgence which is granted to other insolvents. They were always included in every act passed for the relief of insolvent debtors, till the sixth year of George I. when they were first excepted from this benefit. By a law enacted in the reign of Queen Anne, relating to bankruptcy, any creditor was at liberty to

object

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object to the confirmation of the bankrupt's certificate; but the Chancellor had power to judge whether the objection was frivolous or well founded: yet, by a later act, the Chancellor is obliged to confirm the certificate, if it is agreeable to four-fifths in number and value of the creditors; whereas he cannot confirm it, should he be opposed, even without any reason assigned, by one creditor to whom the greatest part of the debt is owing. It might, therefore, deserve the consideration of Parliament, whether, in extending their clemency to the poor, it should not be equally diffused to bankrupts and other insolvents; whether proper distinctions ought not to be made between the innocent bankrupt who fails through misfortunes in trade, and him who becomes insolvent from fraud or profligacy: and finally, whether the enquiry and trial of all such cases would not properly fall within the province of Chancery, a tribunal instituted for the mitigation of common law.

§ XXIV. The House of Commons seems to have been determined on another measure, which, however, does not admit of explanation. An order was made in the month of February, that leave should be given to bring in a bill to explain, amend, and render effectual so much of an act, passed in the thirteenth year of George II. against the excessive increase of horse-races, and deceitful gaming, as related to that increase. The bill was accordingly presented, read, printed, and ordered to be committed to a committee of the whole House; but the order was delayed from time to time till the end of the session. Some progress was likewise made in another affair of greater consequence to the community. A committee was appointed in the month of March, to take into consideration the state of the poor of England, as well as the laws enacted for their maintenance. The clerks of the peace belonging to all the counties, cities, and towns in England

England and Wales, were ordered to transmit, for the perusal of the House, on account of the annual expence of passing vagrants through their respective divisions and districts for four years: and the committee began to deliberate on this important subject. In the latter end of May the House was made acquainted with their resolutions, importing, that the present method of relieving the poor in the respective parishes, where no workhouses have been provided for their reception and employment, are in general, very burthensome to the inhabitants, and tend to render the poor miserable to themselves, and useless to the community: that the present method of giving money out of the parochial rates to persons capable of labour, in order to prevent them from claiming an entire subsistence for themselves and their families, is contrary to the spirit and intention of the laws for the relief of the poor, is a dangerous power in the hands of parochial officers, a misapplication of the publick money, and a great encouragement to idleness and intemperance: that the employment of the poor, under proper direction and management, in such works and manufactures as are suited to their respective capacities, would be of great utility to the publick: that settling the poor in workhouses, to be provided in the several counties and ridings in England and Wales, under the direction and management of Governors and Trustees to be appointed for that purpose, would be the most effectual method of relieving such poor persons, as, by age, infirmities, or diseases, are rendered incapable of supporting themselves by their labour; of employing the able and industrious, reforming the idle and profligate, and of educating poor children in religion and industry: that the poor in such workhouses would be better regulated and maintained, and managed with more advantage to the publick, by Guardians, Governors, or Trustees, to be specially appointed, or chosen for that purpose, and incorporated

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corporated with such powers, and under such restrictions, as the Legislature should deem proper, than by the annual parochial officers: that erecting workhouses upon waste lands, and appropriating a certain quantity of such lands to be cultivated, in order to produce provision for the poor in the said houses, would not only be the means of instructing and employing many of the said poor in agriculture, but lessen the expence of the publick: that controversies and law suits concerning the settlements of poor persons occasioned a very great, and, in general, an useless expence to the publick, amounting to many thousand pounds per annum; and that often more money is expended in ascertaining such settlements by each of the contending parishes than would be sufficient to maintain the paupers: that should workhouses be established for the general reception of the poor, in the respective counties and ridings of England, the laws relating to the settlements of the poor, and the passing of vagrants, might be repealed: that while the present laws relating to the poor subsist, the compelling parish-officers to grant certificates to the poor would, in all probability, prevent the hardships they now suffer, in being debarred gaining their livelihood, where they can do it most usefully to themselves and the publick. From these sensible resolutions, the reader may conceive some idea of the misconduct that attends the management of the poor in England, as well as of the grievous burthens entailed upon the people by the present laws which constitute this branch of the Legislature. The committee's resolves being read at the table, an order was made that they should be taken into consideration on a certain day, when the order was again put off, and in the interim the Parliament was prorogued. While the committee deliberated upon this affair, leave was given to prepare a bill for preventing tenants, under a certain yearly rent, from gaining settlements in any particular parish, by

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being there rated in any land-tax assessment, and paying for the landlord the money so charged. This order was afterwards discharged; and another bill brought in to prevent any person from gaining a settlement, by being rated by virtue of an act of Parliament for granting an aid to his Majesty by a land-tax, and paying the same. The bill was accordingly presented, read, committed, and passed the Lower House; but among the Lords it miscarried. It can never be expected that the poor will be managed with œconomy and integrity, while the execution of the laws relating to their maintenance is left in the hands of low tradesmen, who derive private advantage from supplying them with necessaries, and often favour the imposition of one another with the most scandalous collusion. This is an evil which will never be remedied, until persons of independent fortune, and unblemished integrity, actuated by a spirit of true patriotism, shall rescue their fellow-citizens from the power of such interested miscreants, by taking their poor into their own management and protection. Instead of multiplying laws with respect to the settlement and management of the poor, which serve only to puzzle and perplex the parish and peace officers, it would become the sagacity of the Legislature to take some effectual precautions to prevent the increase of paupers and vagrants, which is become an intolerable nuisance to the commonwealth. Towards this salutary end, surely nothing would more contribute than a reformation of the police, that would abolish those infamous places of entertainment, which swarm in every corner of the metropolis, seducing people of all ranks to extravagance, profligacy, and ruin; and would restrict within due bounds the number of publick-houses, which are augmented to an enormous degree, affording so many asylums for riot and debauchery, and corrupting the morals of the common people to such a pitch of licentious indecency,

as

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as must be a reproach to every civilized nation. Let it not be affirmed, to the disgrace of Great-Britain, that such receptacles of vice and impunity subsist under the connivance of the government, according to the narrow views and confined speculation of those shallow politicians, who imagine that the revenue increased in proportion to the quantity of strong liquors consumed in such infamous recesses of intemperance. Were this in reality the case, that administration would deserve to be branded with eternal infamy, which could sacrifice to such a base consideration the health, the lives, and the morals of their fellow-creatures: but nothing can be more fallacious than the supposition, that the revenue of any government can be increased by the augmented intemperance of the people; for intemperance is the bane of industry, as well as of population; and what the Government gains in the articles of the duty on malt, and the excise upon liquors, will always be greatly overbalanced by the loss in other articles, arising from the diminution of hands, and the neglect of labour.

§ XXV. Exclusive of the bills that were actually prepared, though they did not pass in the course of this session, the Commons deliberated on other important subjects, which, however, were not finally discussed. In the beginning of the session, a committee being appointed to resume the enquiry touching the regulation of weights and measures, a subject we have mentioned in the history of the preceding session, the box which contained a Troy pound weight, locked up by order of the House, was again produced by the clerk in whose custody it had been deposited. This affair being carefully investigated, the committee agreed to fourteen resolutions*. In

* As the curiosity of the reader may be interested in these resolutions, we shall here insert them for his satisfaction. The committee resolved, that

In the mean time it was ordered, that all the weights, referred to in the report, should be delivered to the clerk

that the ell ought to contain one yard and one quarter, according to the yard mentioned in the third resolution of the former committee upon the subject of weights and measures; that the pole, or perch, should contain in length five such yards and a half; the furlong two hundred and twenty; and the mile one thousand seven hundred and sixty: that the superficial perch should contain thirty square yards and a quarter; the rood one thousand two hundred and ten; and the acre four thousand eight hundred and forty; that, according to the fourth, fifth, and sixth resolutions of the former committee, upon the subject of weights and measures, agreed to by the House on the second day of June in the preceding year, the quart ought to contain seventy cubical inches and one half; the pint thirty-five and one quarter; the peck five hundred and sixty-four; and the bushel two thousand two hundred and fifty-six. That the several parts of the pound, mentioned in the eighth resolution of the former committee, examined and adjusted in the presence of this committee, viz. the half pound or six ounces, quarter of a pound or three ounces, two ounces, one ounce, two half ounces, the five-penny weight, three-penny weight, two-penny weight, and one-penny weight, the twelve grains, six grains, three grains, two grains, and two of one grain each, ought to be the models of the several parts of the said pound, and to be used for sizing or adjusting weights for the future. That all weights exceeding a pound should be of brass, copper, bell-metal or cast-iron; and all those of cast-iron should be made in the form, and with a handle of hammered iron, such as the pattern herewith produced, having the mark of the weight cast in the iron; and all weights of a pound, or under, should be of gold, silver, brass, copper, or bell-metal. That all weights of cast-iron should have the initial letters of the name of the maker upon the upper bar of the handle; and all other weights should have the same, together with the mark of the weight, according to this standard, upon some convenient part thereof. That the yard, mentioned in the second resolution of the former committee, upon the subject of weights and measures, agreed to by the House in the last session, being the standard of length, and the pound mentioned in the eighth resolution, being the standard of weight, ought to be deposited in the court of the receipt of the Exchequer, and the Chief Baron, and the seal of office of the Chamberlain of the Exchequer, and not to be opened but by the order and in the presence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Chief Baron for the time being. That the most effectual means to ascertain uniformity in measures of length and weight, to be used throughout the realm, would be to appoint certain persons, at one particular office, with clerks and workmen under them, for the purpose only of sizing and adjusting, for the use of the subjects, all measures of length, and all weights, being parts, multiplies, or certain proportions of the standards to be used for the future. That a model or pattern of the said standard yard, mentioned in the second resolution of the former committee, and now in the custody of the clerk of the House, and a model or pattern of the standard pound, mentioned in the eighth resolution of that committee, together with models or patterns of the parts of the said pound, now presented to the House, and also of the multiples of the said pound, mentioned in this report (when the same are adjusted) should be kept in the said office, in custody of the said persons

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clerk of the House to be locked up, and brought forth occasionally.

§ XXVI. The House of Commons, among other articles of domestick œconomy, bestowed some attention on the Hospital for Foundlings, which was now, more than ever, become a matter of national consideration. The accounts relating to this charity having been demanded, and subjected to the inspection of the members, were, together with the King's recommendation, referred to the committee of supply, where they produced the resolutions which we have already specified among the other grants of the year. The House afterwards resolved itself into a

to be appointed for sizing weights and measures, under the seal of the chief Baron of the Exchequer for the time being; to be opened only by order of the said chief Baron, in his presence, or the presence of one of the Barons of the Exchequer, on the application of the said persons, for the purpose of correcting and adjusting, as occasion should require, the patterns or models used at the said office, for sizing measures of length and weight, delivered out to the subjects. That models or patterns of the said standard yard and standard pound aforesaid, and also models or patterns of the parts and multiples aforesaid of the said pound, should be lodged in the said office for the sizing of such measures of length or weight, as, being parts, multiples or proportions of the said standards, should hereafter be required by any of his Majesty's subjects. That all measures of length and weight, sized at the said office, should be marked in some convenient part thereof with such marks as should be thought expedient, to show the identity of the measures and weights sized at the said office, and to discover any frauds that may be committed therein. That the said office should be kept within a convenient distance of the Court of Exchequer at Westminster; and all the measures of length and weight, within a certain distance of London, should be corrected and re-assized, as occasion should require, at the said office. That, in order to enforce the uniformity in weights and measures to be used for the future, all persons appointed by the crown to act as justices of the peace in any county, city, or town corporate, being respectively counties within themselves, throughout the realm, should be empowered to hear and determine, and put the law in execution, in respect to weights and measures only, without any of them being obliged to sue out a *dedimus*, or to act in any other matter; and the said commissioners should be empowered to sue, imprison, inflict, or mitigate such penalties as should be thought proper; and have such other authorities as should be necessary for compelling the use of weights and measures, agreeably to the aforesaid standards. The models or patterns of the said standard yard and pound, and of the parts and multiples thereof, before mentioned, should be distributed in each county, in such a manner as to be readily used for evidence in all cases where measures and weights should be questioned before the said commissioners, and for adjusting the same in a proper manner.

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committee, to deliberate on the state of the hospital, and examine its accounts. On the third day of May their resolutions were reported to the following effect: That the appointing, by the Governors and Guardians of the said hospital, places in the several counties, ridings, or divisions in this kingdom, for the first reception of exposed and deserted young children, would be attended with many evil consequences; and that the conveying of children from the country to the said hospital is attended with many evil consequences, and ought to be prevented. A bill was ordered to be brought in, founded upon this last resolution, but never presented; therefore the enquiry produced no effect. Notwithstanding the institution of this charity, for the support of which great sums are yearly levied on the publick, it does not appear that the bills of mortality, respecting new-born children, are decreased, nor the shocking crime of infant-murder rendered less frequent than heretofore. It may, therefore, not be improperly styled a heavy additional tax for the propagation of bastardy, and the encouragement of idleness, among the common people; besides the tendency it has to extinguish the feelings of the heart, and dissolve those family ties of blood by which the charities are connected.

§ XXVII. In the month of March leave was given to bring in a bill for the more effectual preventing of the melting down and exporting the gold and silver coin of the kingdom, and the persons were nominated to prepare it; but the bill never appeared, and no further enquiry was made about the matter. Perhaps it was supposed that such a measure might be thought an encroachment on the prerogative of the Crown, which hath always exercised the power of fixing the standard, and regulating the currency of the coin. Perhaps such a step was de-

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ferred on account of the war, during which a great quantity of gold and silver was necessarily exported to the continent, for the support of the allies and armies in the pay of Great-Britain. The Legislature, however, would do well to consider this eternal maxim in computation, that when a greater quantity of bullion is exported, in waste, than can be replaced by commerce, the nation must be hastening to a state of insolvency. Over and above these proceedings in this session of Parliament, it may not be unnecessary to mention several messages which were sent by the King to the House of Commons. That relating to the vote of credit we have already specified in our account of the supply. On the twenty-sixth day of April the Chancellor of the Exchequer presented to the House two messages, signed by his Majesty, one in favour of his subjects in North-America, and the other in behalf of the East-India company: the former recommending to their consideration the zeal and vigour with which his faithful subjects in North-America had exerted themselves in defence of his just rights and possessions; desiring he might be enabled to give them a proper compensation for the expences incurred by the respective provinces in levying, clothing, and paying the troops raised in that country, according as the active vigour and strenuous efforts of the several colonies should appear to merit: in the latter, he desired the House would empower him to assist the East-India Company in defraying the expence of a military force in the East-Indies to be maintained by them, in lieu of a battalion of regular troops withdrawn from thence, and returned to Ireland. Both these messages were referred to the committee of supply, and produced the resolutions upon each subject which we have already explained. The message relating to a projected invasion by the enemies of Great-Britain we shall particularize in its proper place,

place, when we come to record the circumstances and miscarriage of that design. In the mean time, it may not be improper to observe, that the thanks of the House of Commons were voted and given to Admiral Boscawen and Major-General Amherst, for the services they had done their King and country in North-America; and the same compliment was paid to Admiral Osborne, for the success of his cruise in the Mediterranean.

§ XXVIII. The session was closed on the second day of June with a speech to both Houses, from the commissioners appointed by his Majesty for that purpose. In this harangue the Parliament was given to understand, that the King approved of their conduct, and returned them his thanks for their condescension; that the hopes he had conceived of their surmounting the difficulties which lay in the way were founded on the wisdom, zeal, and affection of so good a Parliament, and that his expectations were fully answered; that they had considered the war in all its parts, and notwithstanding its long continuance, through the obstinacy of the enemy, had made such provision for the many different operations, as ought to convince the adversaries of Great-Britain, that it would be for their interest, as well as for the ease and relief of all Europe, to embrace equitable and honourable terms of accommodation. They were told that, by their assistance, the combined army in Germany had been completed; powerful squadrons, as well as numerous bodies of land-forces were employed in America, in order to maintain the British rights and possessions, and annoy the enemy in the most sensible manner in that country: that, as France was making considerable preparations in her different ports, he had taken care to put his fleet at home in the best condition, both of strength and situation, to guard against and repel any attempts that might be meditated against his kingdoms:

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kingdoms: that all his measures had been directed to assert the honour of his crown; to preserve the essential interests of his faithful subjects; to support the cause of the Protestant religion, and publick liberty: he, therefore, trusted that the uprightness of his intentions would draw down the blessing of Heaven upon his endeavours. He expressed his hope, that the precautions they had taken to prevent and correct the excesses of the privateers would produce the desired effect: a consideration which the King had much at heart; for, though sensible of the utility of that service, when under proper regulations, he was determined to do his utmost to prevent any injuries or hardships which might be sustained by the subjects of neutral powers, as far as might be practicable and consistent with his Majesty's just right to hinder the trade of his enemies from being conclusively and fraudulently covered. He not only thanked the Commons, but applauded the firmness and vigour with which they had acted, as well as their prudence in judging, that, notwithstanding the present burthens, the making ample provision for carrying on the war was the most probable means to bring it to an honourable and happy conclusion. He assured them that no attention should be wanting on his part, for the faithful application of what had been granted. They were informed he had nothing further to desire, but that they would carry down the same good dispositions, and propagate them in their several counties, which they had shown in their proceedings during the session. These declarations being pronounced, the Parliament was prorogued.

§ XXIX. The people of England, provoked on one hand by the intrigues, the hostilities, and menaces of France, and animated on the other by the pride of triumph and success, which never fails to reconcile them to difficulties, howsoever great, and expence, however enormous, at this period breathed nothing

nothing but war, and discoursed about nothing but new plans of conquest. We have seen how liberally the Parliament bestowed the nation's money; and the acquiescence of the subjects in general under the additional burdens which had been imposed, appeared in the remarkable eagerness with which they embarked in the subscription planned by the Legislature; in the vigorous assistance they contributed towards manning the navy, recruiting the army, and levying additional forces; and the warlike spirit which began to diffuse itself through all ranks of the people. This was a spirit which the ministry carefully cherished and cultivated for the support of the war, which, it must be owned, was prosecuted with an ardour and efficacy peculiar to the present administration. True it is, the German war had been for some time adopted as an object of importance by the British councils, and a resolution was taken to maintain it without flinching: at the same time, it must be allowed, that this consideration had not hitherto weakened the attention of the ministry to the operations in America, where alone the war may be said to have been carried on and prosecuted on British principles, so as to distress the enemy in their most tender part, and at the same time acquire the most substantial advantages to the subjects of Britain. For these two purposes, every preparation was made that sagacity could suggest, or vigour execute. The navy was repaired and augmented, and, in order to man the different squadrons, the expedient of pressing, that disgrace to a British administration, was practised both by land and water with extraordinary rigour and vivacity. A proclamation was issued, offering a considerable bounty for every seaman and every landman that should, by a certain day, enter voluntarily into the service. As an additional encouragement to this class of people, the King promised his pardon to all seamen who had deserted from their respective ships

to

to which they belonged, provided they should return to their duty by the third day of July; but at the same time he declared, that those who should neglect this opportunity, at a time when their country so much required their service, would, upon being apprehended, incur the penalty of a court-martial, and if convicted, be deemed unfit objects of the royal mercy. All Justices of the Peace, Mayors, and Magistrates of Corporations throughout Great-Britain were commanded to make particular search for straggling seamen fit for the service, and to send all that should be found to the nearest sea-port, that they might be sent on board by the sea-officer there commanding. Other methods, more gentle and effectual, were taken to levy and recruit the land forces. New regiments were raised, on his Majesty's promise, that every man should be entitled to his discharge at the end of three years, and the premiums for inlisting were increased. Over and above these indulgences, considerable bounties were offered and given by cities, towns, corporations, and even by individuals, so universally were the people possessed with a spirit of chivalry and adventure. The example was set by the metropolis, where the Common-Council resolved, that voluntary subscriptions should be received in the chamber of London, to be appropriated as bounty money to such persons as should engage in his Majesty's service. The City subscribed a considerable sum for that purpose; and a committee of Aldermen and Commoners was appointed to attend at Guildhall, to receive and apply the subscriptions. As a further encouragement to volunteers, they moreover resolved, that every person so entering should be entitled to the freedom of the city, at the expiration of three years or sooner, if the war should be brought to a conclusion. These resolutions being communicated to the King, he was pleased to signify his approbation,

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and return his thanks to the city, in a letter from the Secretary of State to the Lord-Mayor. Large sums were immediately subscribed by different companies, and some private persons; and, in imitation of the capital, bounties were offered by many different communities in every quarter of the united kingdom. At the same time, such care and diligence were used in disciplining the militia, that, before the close of the year, the greater part of those truly constitutional battalions rivalled the regular troops in the perfection of their exercise, and seemed to be in all respects, as fit for actual service.

§ XXX. Before we proceed to record the transactions of the campaign that succeeded these preparations, we shall take notice of some domestick events, which, though not very important in themselves, may nevertheless claim a place in the History of England. In the beginning of the year, the court of London was overwhelmed with affliction at the death of the Princess Dowager of Orange and Nassau, governante of the United Provinces in the minority of her son, the present Stadtholder. She was the eldest daughter of his Britannick Majesty, possessed of many personal accomplishments and exemplary virtues; pious, moderate, sensible, and circumspect. She had exercised her authority with equal sagacity and resolution, respected even by those who were no friends to the house of Orange, and died with great fortitude and resignation*. In her

* Feeling her end approaching, she delivered a key to one of her attendants, directing him to fetch two papers, which she signed with her own hand. One was a contract of marriage between her daughter and the Prince of Nassau Weilburgh; the other was a letter to the States-General beseeching them to consent to this marriage, and preserve inviolate the regulations she had made, touching the education and tutelage of the young Stadtholder. These two papers being signed and sealed, she sent for her children, exhorted them to make proper improvements on the education they had received, and to live in harmony with each other. Then she implored Heaven to shower its blessings on them both, and embraced them with the most affecting marks of maternal tenderness. She afterwards continued to converse calmly and deliberately with her friends, and in a few hours expired.

will she appointed the king her father, and the Princess Dowager of Orange, her mother-in-law, honorary tutors, and Prince Louis of Brunswick acting tutor to her children. In the morning after her decease, the States-General and the States of Holland were extraordinarily assembled, and having received notice of this event, proceeded to confirm the regulations which had been made for the minority of the Stadtholder. Prince Louis of Brunswick was invited to assist in the assembly of Holland, where he took the oaths, as representing the Captain-General of the Union. Then he communicated to the assembly the act by which the Princess had appointed him guardian of her children. He was afterwards invited to the assembly of the States-General, who agreed to the resolution of Holland, with respect to his guardianship; and in the evening the different colleges of the government sent formal deputations to the young Stadtholder, and the Princess Caroline, his sister, in whose names and presence they were received, and answered by their guardian and representative. A formal intimation of the death of the Princess was communicated to the King her father, in a pathetick letter, by the States-General; who condoled with him on the irreparable loss which he as well as they had sustained by this melancholy event, and assured him they would employ all their care and attention in securing and defending the rights and interest of the young Stadtholder and the Princess his sister, whom they considered as the children of the Republick. The royal family of England suffered another disaster in the course of this year, by the decease of the Princess Elizabeth-Caroline, second daughter of his late Royal Highness Frederick Prince of Wales, a lady of the most amiable character, who died at Kew in the month of September, before she had attained the eighteenth year of her age.

§ XXXI.

§ XXXI. Certain privateers continuing their excesses at sea, and rifling neutral ships without distinction or authority, the Government resolved to vindicate the honour of the nation, by making examples of those pirates, who as fast as they could be detected and secured, were brought to trial, and upon conviction sacrificed to justice. While these steps were taken to rescue the nation from the reproach of violence and rapacity, which her neighbours had urged with such eagerness, equal spirit was exerted in convincing neutral powers that they should not with impunity, contravene the law of nations, in favouring the enemies of Great-Britain. A great number of causes were tried relating to disputed captures, and many Dutch vessels with their cargoes, were condemned, after a fair hearing, notwithstanding the loud clamours of that people, and the repeated remonstrances of the States-General.

§ XXXII. The reputation of the English was not so much affected by the irregularities of her privateers, armed for rapine, as by the neglect of internal police, and an ingredient of savage ferocity mingled in the national character; an ingredient that appeared but too conspicuous in the particulars of several shocking murders brought to light about this period.—One Halsey, who commanded a merchant-ship in the voyage from Jamaica to England, having conceived some personal dislike to a poor sailor, insulted him with such abuse, exposed him to such hardships, and punished him with such wantonness of barbarity, that the poor wretch leaped overboard in despair. His inhuman tyrant envying him that death, which would have rescued a miserable object from his brutality, plunged into the sea after him, and brought him on board, declaring, he should not escape so while there were any torments left to inflict. Accordingly, he exercised his tyranny upon him with redoubled rigour, until the poor creature expired, in consequence of the inhuman treatment

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treatment he had sustained. This savage ruffian was likewise indicted for the murder of another mariner, but being convicted on the first trial, the second was found unnecessary, and the criminal suffered death according to the law, which is perhaps too mild to malefactors convicted of such aggravated cruelty. Another barbarous murder was perpetrated in the country, near Birmingham, upon a sheriff's officer, by the sons of one Darby, whose effects the bailiff had seized, on a distress for rent. The two young assassins, encouraged by the father, attacked the unhappy wretch with clubs, and mangled him in a terrible manner, so that he hardly retained any signs of life. Not contented with this cruel execution, they stripped him naked, and dragging him out of the house, scourged him with a waggoner's whip, until the flesh was cut from his bones. In this miserable condition he was found weltering in his blood, and conveyed to a neighbouring house, where he immediately expired. The three barbarians were apprehended, after having made a desperate resistance. They were tried, convicted, and executed: the sons were hung in chains, and the body of the father dissected.—The widow of a Timber-merchant at Rotherhithe being cruelly murdered in her own house, Mary Edmonson, a young woman, her niece, ran out into the street with her arms cut across, and gave the alarm, declaring her aunt had been assassinated by four men, who forced their way into the house, and that she (the niece) had received those wounds, in attempting to defend her relation. According to the circumstances that appeared, this unnatural wretch had cut the throat of her aunt and benefactress with a case-knife, then dragged the body from the wash-house to the parlour; that she had stolen a watch and some silver spoons, and concealed them, together with the knife and her own apron, which was soaked with the blood of her parent. After having acted

acted this horrid tragedy, the bare recital of which the humane reader will not peruse without horror, she put on another apron, and wounded her own flesh, the better to conceal her guilt. Notwithstanding these precautions she was suspected, and committed to prison. Being brought to trial she was convicted and condemned upon circumstantial evidence, and finally executed on Kennington-Commom, though she denied the fact to the last moment of her life. At the place of execution she behaved with great composure, and, after having spent some minutes in devotion, protested she was innocent of the crime laid to her charge. What seemed to corroborate this protestation, was the condition and character of the young woman, who had been educated in a sphere above the vulgar, and maintained a reputation without reproach in the country, where she was actually betrothed to a clergyman. On the other hand, the circumstances that appeared against her almost amounted to a certainty, though nothing weaker than proof positive ought to determine a jury in capital cases to give a verdict against the person accused. After all, this is one of those problematick events, which elude the force of all evidence, and serve to confound the pride of human reason.—A miscreant, whose name was Haines, having espoused the daughter of a farmer in the neighbourhood of Gloucester, who possessed a small estate, which he intended to divide among seven children, was so abandoned as to form the design of poisoning the whole family, that by virtue of his wife he might enjoy the whole inheritance For the execution of this infernal scheme, he employed his own father to purchase a quantity of arsenick; part of which he administered to three of the children, who were immediately seized with the dreadful symptoms produced by this mineral, and the eldest expired. He afterwards mixed it with three apple-cakes, which he bought for the purpose, and presented

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presented to the other three children, who underwent the same violence of operation which had proved fatal to the eldest brother. The instantaneous effects of the poison created a suspicion of Haines, who being examined, the whole scene of villany stood disclosed. Nevertheless the villain found means to escape.—The uncommon spirit of assassination which raged at this period, seemed to communicate itself even to foreigners, who breathed English air. Five French prisoners, confined on board the King's ship the Royal Oak, were convicted of having murdering one Jean de Manaux, their countryman and fellow prisoner, on revenge for his having discovered that they had forged passes to facilitate their escape. Exasperated at this detection, they seized this unfortunate informer in the place of their confinement, gagged his mouth, stripped him naked, tied him with a strong cord to a ring-bolt, and scourged his body with the most brutal perseverance. By dint of struggling the poor wretch disengaged himself from the cord with which he had been tied: then they finished the tragedy, by leaping and stamping on his breast, till the chest was broke, and he expired. They afterwards severed the body into small pieces, and these they conveyed at different times into the sea, through the funnel of a convenience to which they had access: but one of the other prisoners gave information of the murder; in consequence of which they were secured, brought to trial, condemned, and punished with death.—Nor were the instances of cruel assassination, which prevailed at this juncture, confined to Great-Britain. At the latter end of the foregoing year, an atrocious massacre was perpetrated by two Genoese mariners upon the master and crew of an English vessel, among whom they were enrolled. These monsters of cruelty were in different watches, a circumstance that favoured the execution of the horrid plan they had concerted. When one of them retired to rest

with his fellows of the watch, consisting of the mate and two seamen, he waited till they were fast asleep, and then butchered them all with a knife. Having so far succeeded without discovery, he returned to the deck, and communicated the exploit to his associate: then they suddenly attacked the master of the vessel, and cleft his head with a hatchet, which they likewise used in murdering the man that stood at the helm: a third was likewise dispatched, and no Englishman remained alive but the master's son, a boy, who lamented his father's death with incessant tears and cries for three days, at the expiration of which he was likewise sacrificed, because the assassins were disturbed by his clamour. This barbarous scene was acted within sixty leagues of the rock of Lisbon; but the vessel was taken within the Capes Ortugal and Finisterre, by the Captain of the French privateer, called La Favourite, who seeing the deck stained with blood, and finding all the papers of the ship destroyed, began to suspect that the master and crew had been murdered. He accordingly taxed them with the murder, and they confessed the particulars. The privateer touched at Vigo, where the Captain imparted this detail to the English Consul; but the prize, with the two villains on board, was sent to Bayonne in France, where they were brought to condign punishment.

§ XXXIII. We shall close this register of blood with the account of a murder remarkable in all its circumstances, for which a person, called Eugene Aram, suffered at York, in the course of this year. This man, who exercised the profession of a schoolmaster at Knaresborough, had, as far back as the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, been concerned with one Houseman, in robbing and murdering Daniel Clarke; whom they had previously persuaded to borrow a considerable quantity of valuable effects from different persons in the neighbourhood on false pretences, that he might

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retire with the booty. He had accordingly filled a sack with these particulars, and began his retreat with his two perfidious associates, who suddenly fell upon him, deprived him of life, and, having buried the body in a cave, took possession of the plunder. Though Clarke disappeared at once in such a mysterious manner, no suspicion fell on the assassins; and Aram, who was the chief contriver and agent in the murder, moved his habitation to another part of the country. In the summer of the present year, Houseman being employed, among other labourers, in repairing the publick highway, they, in digging for gravel by the road side, discovered the skeleton of a human creature, which the majority supposed to be the bones of Daniel Clarke. This opinion was no sooner broached, than Houseman, as it were, by some supernatural impulse which he could not resist, declared that it was not the skeleton of Clarke, inasmuch as his body had been interred at a place called St. Robert's Cave, where they would find it, with the head turned to a certain corner. He was immediately apprehended, examined, admitted as evidence for the Crown, and discovered the particulars of the murder. The skeleton of Clarke being found exactly in the place and manner he had described, Eugene Aram, who now acted as usher to a grammar-school in the county of Norfolk, was secured, and brought to trial at the York assizes. There, his own wife corroborating the testimony of Houseman, he was found guilty, and received sentence of death; notwithstanding a very artful and learned defence, in which he proved from argument and example, the danger of convicting a man upon circumstantial evidence. Finding all his remonstrances ineffectual, he recommended himself in pathetick terms to the King's mercy; and if ever murder was entitled to indulgence, perhaps it might have been extended not improperly, to this man, whose

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nius, in itself prodigious, might have exerted itself in works of general utility. He had, in spite of all the disadvantages attending low birth and straitened circumstances, by the dint of his own capacity and inclination, made considerable progress in mathematicks and philosophy, acquired all the languages ancient and modern, and executed part of a Celtick dictionary, which, had he lived to finish it, might have thrown some essential light upon the origin and obscurities of the European History. Convinced, at last, that he had nothing to hope from the clemency of the government, he wrote a short poem in defence of suicide; and, on the day fixed for his execution, opened the veins of his left arm with a razor, which he had concealed for that purpose. Though he was much weakened by the effusion of blood, before this attempt was discovered, yet, as the instrument had missed the artery, he did not expire until he was carried to the gibbet, and underwent the sentence of the law. His body was conveyed to Knaresborough-forest, and hung in chains, near the place where the murder was perpetrated. These are some of the most remarkable that appeared amongst many other instances of homicide: a crime that prevails to a degree alike deplorable and surprising, even in a nation renowned for compassion and placability. But this will generally be the case among people whose passions, naturally impetuous, are ill restrained by laws, and the regulations of civil society; which the licentious do not fear, and the wicked hope to evade.

§ XXXIV. The Prince of Wales having, in the beginning of June, entered the two-and-twentieth year of his age, the anniversary of his birth was celebrated with great rejoicings at court, and the King received compliments of congratulation on the majority of a Prince, who seemed born to fulfil the hopes, and complete the happiness of Great-Britain. The city of London presented an address to the

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King on this occasion, replete with expressions of loyalty and affection, assuring his Majesty, that no hostile threats could intimidate a people animated by the love of liberty, who, confiding in the Divine Providence, and in his Majesty's experienced wisdom and vigorous councils, were resolved to exert their utmost efforts towards enabling their Sovereign to repel the insults, and defeat the attempts made by the ancient enemies of his crown and kingdom. Congratulations of the same kind were offered by other cities, towns, corporations, and communities, who vied with each other in professions of attachment; and, indeed, there was not the least trace of disaffection perceiveable at this juncture in any part of the island.

§ XXXV. So little were the citizens of London distressed by the expence, or incommoded by the operations of the war, that they found leisure to plan, and funds to execute magnificent works of art, for the ornament of the metropolis, and the convenience of commerce. They had obtained an act of Parliament, empowering them to build a new bridge over the Thames, from Black-friars to the opposite shore, about midway between those of London and Westminster. Commissioners were appointed to put this act in execution; and, at a court of Common-Council, it was resolved that a sum not exceeding one hundred and forty-four thousand pounds should be forthwith raised, within the space of eight years, by instalments, not exceeding thirty thousand pounds in one year, to be paid into the chamber of London; that the persons advancing the money should have an interest at the rate of four pounds per cent. per annum, to be paid half yearly by the Chamberlain, yet redeemable at the expiration of the first ten years: and that the Chamberlain should affix the city's seal to such instruments as the committee might think fit to give for securing the payment of the said annuities. Such were the

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first effectual steps taken towards the execution of a laudable measure, which met with the most obstinate opposition in the sequel, from the narrow views of particular people, as well as from the prejudice of party.

§ XXXVI. The spirit that now animated the citizens of London was such as small difficulties did not retard, and even considerable losses could not discourage. In the month of November the city was exposed to a dangerous conflagration, kindled in the night by accident in the neighbourhood of the Royal-Exchange, which burning with great fury, notwithstanding the assistance of the firemen and engines employed under the personal direction of the magistracy, consumed a great number of houses, and damaged many more. That whole quarter of the town was filled with consternation: some individuals were beggared; one or two perished in the flames, and some were buried in the ruins of the houses that sunk under the disaster.

§ XXXVII. The ferment of mind so peculiar to the natives of Great-Britain, excited by a strange mixture of genius and caprice, passion and philosophy, study and conjecture, produced at this period some flowers of improvement, in different arts and sciences, that seemed to promise fruit of publick utility. Several persons invented methods for discovering the longitude at sea, that great *desideratum* in navigation, for the ascertainment of which so many nations have offered a publick recompense, and in the investigation of which so many mathematical heads have been disordered. Some of those who now appeared candidates for the prize, deserved encouragement for the ingenuity of the several systems; but he who seemed to enjoy the pre-eminence in the opinion and favour of the publick, was Mr. Irwin, a native of Ireland, who contrived a chair so artfully poised, that a person sitting in it on board a ship,

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even in a rough sea, can, through a telescope, observe the immersion and emersion of Jupiter's satellites, without being interrupted or incommoded by the motion of the vessel. This gentleman was favoured with the assistance and protection of Commodore Lord Howe, in whose presence the experiment was tried in several ships at sea with such success, that he granted a certificate, signifying his approbation; and in consequence of this, Mr. Irwin is said to have obtained a considerable reward from the Board of Admiralty.

§ XXXVIII. The people of England, happy in their situation, felt none of the storms of war and desolation which ravaged the neighbouring countries: but, enriched by a surprising augmentation of commerce, enjoyed all the security of peace, and all the pleasures of taste and affluence. The university of Oxford having conferred the office of their Chancellor, vacant by the death of the Earl of Arran, upon another nobleman of equal honour and integrity, namely, the Earl of Westmoreland, he made a publick entrance into that celebrated seat of learning with great magnificence, and was installed amidst the Encænia, which were celebrated with such classical elegance of pomp, as might have rivalled the chief Roman festival of the Augustan age. The Chancellor elect was attended by a splendid train of the nobility and persons of distinction. The city of Oxford was filled with a vast concourse of strangers. The processions were contrived with taste, and conducted with decorum. The installation was performed with the most striking solemnity. The congratulatory verses, and publick speeches, breathed the spirit of old Rome; and the ceremony was closed by Dr. King, that venerable sage of St. Mary Hall, who pronounced an oration in praise of the new Chancellor with all the flow of Tully, animated by the fire of Demosthenes.

§ XXXIX.

§ XXXIX. We shall conclude the remarkable incidents of this year*, that are detached from the prosecution of the war, with the detail of an event equally surprising and deplorable.—A sloop called the Dolphin, bound from the Canaries to New-York, met with such unfavourable weather, that she was detained one hundred and sixty-five days in the passage, and the provision of the ship was altogether expended before the first fifty days were elapsed. The wretched crew had devoured their dog, cat, and all their shoes on board: at length, being reduced to the utmost extremity, they agreed to cast lots for their lives, that the body of him upon whom the lot should fall might serve for some time to support the survivors. The wretched victim was one Antoni Galatia, a Spanish gentleman and passenger. Him they shot with a musquet; and having cut off his head, threw it overboard; but the entrails, and the rest of the carcase, they greedily devoured. This horrid banquet having as it were fleshed the famished crew, they began to talk of another sacrifice, from which, however, they were diverted by the influence and remonstrances of their Captain, who prevailed upon them to be satisfied with a miserable allowance to each per diem, cut

* In the spring of the year the liberal arts sustained a lamentable loss in the death of George Frederick Handel, the most celebrated master in musick which this age had produced. He was by birth a German; but had studied in Italy, and afterwards settled in England, where he met with the most favourable reception, and resided above half a century, universally admired for his stupendous genius in the sublime parts of musical composition.

One would be apt to imagine, that there was something in the constitution of the air at this period, which was particularly unfavourable to old age; inasmuch as, in the compass of a few months, the following persons, remarkable for their longevity, died in the kingdom of Scotland; William Barnes, who had been above seventy years a servant in the family of Brodie, died there, at the age of one hundred and nine. Catherine Makenzie died in Ross-shire, at the age of one hundred and eighteen. Janet Blair, deceased at Monemusk, in the shire of Aberdeen, turned of one hundred and twelve. Alexander Stephens, in Bamffshire, at the age of one hundred and eight. Janet Harper, at Baine-hole, at the age of one hundred and seven. Daniel Cameron, in Rannach, married when he was turned of one hundred, and survived his marriage thirty years.

from

from a pair of leather breeches found in the cabin.' Upon this calamitous pittance, reinforced with the grass which grew plentifully upon the deck, these poor objects made shift to subsist for twenty days, at the expiration of which they were relieved, and taken on board one Captain Bradshaw, who chanced to fall in with them at sea. By this time the whole crew, consisting of seven men, were so squalid and emaciated, as to exhibit an appearance at once piteous and terrible; and so reduced in point of strength, that it was found necessary to use ropes and tackle for hoisting them from one ship to the other. The circumstance of the lot falling upon the Spaniard, who was the only foreigner on board, encourages a suspicion that foul play was offered to this unfortunate stranger; but the most remarkable part of this whole incident is, that the master and crew could not contrive some sort of tackle to catch fish, with which the sea every where abounds, and which, no doubt, might be caught with the help of a little ingenuity. If implements of this kind were provided in every ship, they would probably prevent all those tragical events at sea that are occasioned by famine.

§ XL. Previous to the more capital operations in war, we shall particularize the most remarkable captures that were made upon the enemy by single ships of war, during the course of this summer and autumn. In the month of February, a French privateer belonging to Granville, called the Marquis de Marigny, having on board near two hundred men, and mounted with twenty cannon, was taken by Captain Parker, commander of his Majesty's ship the Montague; who likewise made prize of a smaller armed vessel, from Dunkirk, of eight cannon and sixty men. About the same period, Captain Graves, of the Unicorn, brought in the Moras privateer, of St. Maloes, carrying two hundred men, and two-

and

and-twenty cannon. Two large merchant-ships, laden on the French King's account for Martinique, with provision, cloathing, and arms, for the troops on that island, were taken by Captain Lendrick, commander of the Brilliant; and an English transport from St John's, having four hundred French prisoners on board, perished near the Western Islands. Within the circle of the same month, a large French ship from St. Domingo, richly laden, fell in with the Favourite ship of war, and was carried into Gibraltar.

§ XLI. In the month of February, Captain Hood, of his Majesty's frigate the Vestal, belonging to a small squadron commanded by Admiral Holmes, who had sailed for the West Indies in January, being advanced a considerable way a-head of the fleet, descried and gave chace to a sail, which proved to be a French frigate called the Bellona, of two hundred and twenty men, and two-and-thirty great guns, commanded by the Count de Beauhonoire. Captain Hood having made a signal to the Admiral, continued the chase until he advanced within half musquet-shot of the enemy, and then poured in a broadside, which was immediately retorted. The engagement thus begun was maintained with great vigour on both sides for the space of four hours; at the expiration of which the Bellona struck, after having lost all her masts and rigging, together with about forty men killed in the action. Nor was the victor in a much better condition. Thirty men were killed and wounded on board the Vestal. Immediately after the enemy submitted, all her rigging being destroyed by the shot, the topmasts fell overboard; and she was otherwise so much damaged, that she could not proceed on her voyage. Captain Hood, therefore, returned with his prize to Spithead; and afterwards met with a gracious reception from his Majesty, on account of the valour and conduct he had displayed on this occasion. The Bellona

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lona had sailed in January from the island of Martinique, along with the Florissant, and another French frigate, from which she had been separated in the passage. Immediately after this exploit, Captain Elliot, of the Æolus frigate, accompanied by the Isis, made prize of a French ship, the Mignonne, of twenty guns, and one hundred and forty men, one of four frigates employed as convoy to a large fleet of merchant-ships, near the island of Rhée.

§ XLII. In the month of March, the English frigates the Southampton and Melampe, commanded by the Captains Gilchrist and Hotham, being at sea to the northward on a cruise, fell in with the Danaë, a French ship of forty cannon, and three hundred and thirty men, which was engaged by Captain Hotham in a ship of half the force, who maintained the battle a considerable time with admirable gallantry, before his consort could come to his assistance. As they fought in the dark, Captain Gilchrist was obliged to lie by for some time, because he could not distinguish the one from the other; but no sooner did the day appear, than he bore down upon the Danaë with his usual impetuosity, and soon compelled her to surrender: she did not strike, however, until thirty or forty of her men were slain: and the gallant Captain Gilchrist received a grape-shot in his shoulder, which, though it did not deprive him of life, yet rendered him incapable of future service: a misfortune the more to be lamented, as it happened to a brave officer in the vigour of his age, and in the midst of a sanguinary war, which might have afforded him many other opportunities of signalizing his courage for the honour and advantage of his country. Another remarkable exploit was atchieved about the same juncture by Captain Barrington commander of the ship Achilles, mounted with sixty cannon, who, to the westward of Cape Finisterre, encountered a French ship of equal force,

called

called the Count de St. Florintin, bound from Cape François on the island of Hispaniola to Rochefort, under the command of the Sieur de Montay, who was obliged to strike, after a close and obstinate engagement, in which he himself was mortally wounded, a great number of his men slain, and his ship so damaged, that she was with difficulty brought into Falmouth. Captain Barrington obtained the victory at the expence of about five-and-twenty men killed and wounded, and all his rigging, which the enemy's shot rendered useless. Two small privateers from Dunkirk were also taken, one called the Marquis de Bareil, by the Brilliant, which carried her into Kinsale in Ireland; the other called the Carilloneur, which struck to the Grace cutter, assisted by the boats of the ship Rochester, commanded by Captain Duff, who sent her into the Downs.

§ XLIII. About the latter end of March, Captain Samuel Falkner, in the ship Windsor, of sixty guns, cruising to the westward, discovered four large ships to leeward, which, when he approached them, formed the line of battle a-head, in order to give him a warm reception. He accordingly closed with the sternmost ship, which sustained his fire about an hour: then the other three bearing away with all the sail they could carry, she struck her colours, and was conducted to Lisbon. She proved to be the Duc de Chartres, pierced for sixty cannon, though at that time carrying no more than four-and-twenty, with a complement of three hundred men, about thirty of whom were killed in the action. She belonged, with the other three that escaped, to the French East-India Company, was laden with gunpowder, and naval stores, and bound for Pondicherry. Two privateers, called La Chasseur and Le Conquerant, the one from Dunkirk, and the other from Cherbourg, were taken and carried into Plymouth by Captain Hughes, of his Majesty's frigate the Tamer. A third, called the Despatch, from Morlaix,

was

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was brought into Penzance by the Diligence sloop, under the command of Captain Eastwood. A fourth, called the Basque, from Bayonne, furnished with two-and-twenty guns, and about two hundred men, fell into the hands of Captain Parker, of the Brilliant, who conveyed her into Plymouth. Captain Antrobus, of the Surprize, took the Vieux, a privateer of Bourdeaux; and a fifth, from Dunkirk, struck to Captain Knight, of the Liverpool, off Yarmouth. In the month of May, a French frigate called the Arethusa, mounted with two-and-thirty cannon, manned with a large complement of hands, under the command of the late Marquis de Vaudreuil, submitted to two British frigates, the Venus, and the Thames, commanded by the Captains Harrison and Colby, after a warm engagement, in which sixty men were killed and wounded on the side of the enemy. In the beginning of June an armed ship belonging to Dunkirk was brought into the Downs, by Captain Angel, of the Stag; and a privateer of force, called the Countess de la Serre, was subdued and taken, after an obstinate action, by Captain Moore, of his Majesty's ship the Adventure.

§ XLIV. Several armed ships of the enemy, and rich prizes, were taken in the West-Indies, particularly two French frigates, and two Dutch ships with French commodities, all richly laden, by some of the ships of the squadron which Vice-Admiral Coats commanded on the Jamaica station. A fifth called the Velour, from St. Domingo, with a valuable cargo on board, being fortified with twenty cannon, and above one hundred men, fell in with the Favourite sloop of war, under the command of Captain Edwards, who, after an obstinate dispute, carried her into the West-Indies, Captain Collingwood, commander of the King's ship the Crescent, attacked two French frigates, the Amethyste and Berkeley: the

the former of which escaped, after a warm engagement, in which the Crescent's rigging was so much damaged, that she could not pursue: but the other was taken, and conveyed into the harbour of Basseterre. Notwithstanding the vigilance and courage of the English cruisers in those seas, the French privateers swarmed to such a degree, that in the course of this year they took above two hundred sail of British ships, valued at six hundred thousand pounds sterling. This their success is the more remarkable, as by this time the island of Guadaloupe was in possession of the English, and Commodore Moore commanded a numerous squadron in those very latitudes.

§ XLV. In the beginning of October, the Hercules ship of war, mounted with seventy-four guns, under the command of Captain Porter, cruising in the chops of the Channel, descried to windward a large ship, which proved to be the Florissant, of the same force with the Hercules. Her commander, perceiving the English ship giving chace, did not seem to decline the action; but bore down upon her in a slanting direction, and the engagement began with great fury. In a little time, the Hercules having lost her topmast, and all her rigging being shot away, the enemy took advantage of this disaster, made the best of his way, and was pursued till eight o'clock next morning, when he escaped behind the isle of Oleron. Captain Porter was wounded in the head with grape-shot, and lost the use of one leg in the engagement.

§ XLVI. Having taken notice of all the remarkable captures and exploits that were made and achieved by single ships since the commencement of the present year, we shall now proceed to describe the actions that were performed in this period by the different squadrons that constituted the naval power of Great-Britain. Intelligence having been received that the enemy meditated an invasion upon some of the British territories, and that a number of flat-

bottomed

bottomed boats were prepared at Havre-de-Grace, for the purpose of disembarking troops, Rear-Admiral Rodney was, in the beginning of July, detached with a small squadron of ships and bombs to annoy and overawe that part of the coast of France. He accordingly anchored in the road of Havre, and made a disposition to execute the instructions he had received. The bomb-vessels, being placed in the narrow channel of the river leading to Honfleur, began to throw their shells, and continued the bombardment for two-and-fifty hours, without intermission, during which a numerous body of French troops were employed in throwing up entrenchments, erecting new batteries, and firing both with shot and shells upon the assailants. The town was set on fire in several places, and burned with great fury; some of the boats were overturned, and a few of them reduced to ashes, while the inhabitants forsook the place in the utmost consternation: nevertheless, the damage done to the enemy was too inconsiderable to make amends for the expence of the armament, and the loss of nineteen hundred shells and eleven hundred carcasses, which were expended in this expedition. Bombardments of this kind are at best but expensive and unprofitable operations, and may be deemed a barbarous method of prosecuting war, inasmuch as the damage falls upon the wretched inhabitants, who have given no cause of offence, and who are generally spared by an humane enemy, unless they have committed some particular act of provocation.

§ XLVII. The honour of the British flag was much more effectually asserted by the gallant Admiral Boscawen, who, as we have already observed, was entrusted with the conduct of a squadron in the Mediterranean. It must be owned, however, that his first attempt savoured of temerity. Having in vain displayed the British flag in sight of Toulon, by way of defiance to the French fleet that lay there at

at anchor, he ordered three ships of the line, commanded by the Captains Smith, Harland, and Barker, to advance and burn two ships that lay close to the mouth of the harbour. They accordingly approached with great intrepidity, and met with a very warm reception from divers batteries which they had not before perceived. Two small forts they attempted to destroy, and cannonaded for some time with great fury; but being over-matched by superior force, and the wind subsiding into a calm, they sustained considerable damage, and were towed off with great difficulty, in a very shattered condition. The Admiral seeing three of his best ships so roughly handled in this enterprise, returned to Gibraltar in order to refit; and M. de la Clue, the French commander of the squadron at Toulon, seized this opportunity of sailing, in hopes of passing the Straits mouth unobserved, his fleet, consisting of twelve large ships and three frigates. Admiral Boscawen, who commanded fourteen sail of the line with two frigates, and as many fire-ships, having refitted his squadron, detached one frigate to cruise of Malaga, and another to hover between Estepona and Ceuta-point, with a view to keep a good look-out, and give timely notice in case the enemy should approach On the seventeenth day of August, at eight in the evening, the Gibraltar frigate made a signal that fourteen sail appeared on the Barbary shore to the eastward of Ceuta; upon which the English Admiral immediately heaved up his anchors and went to sea: at day-light he descried seven large ships lying to; but when the English squadron forbore to answer their signal, they discovered their mistake, set all their sails, and made the best of their way. This was the greater part of the French squadron commanded by M. de la Clue, from whom five of his large ships and three frigates had separated in the night. Even now, perhaps, he might have escaped, had he not been obliged to wait for the

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the Souveraine which was a heavy sailer. At noon, the wind, which had blown a fresh gale, died away, and although Admiral Boscawen had made signal to chase, and engage in a line of battle a-head, it was not till half an hour after two that some of his head-most ships could close with the rear of the enemy; which, though greatly outnumbered, fought with uncommon bravery. The English Admiral, without waiting to return the fire of the sternmost, which he received as he passed, used all his endeavours to come up with the Ocean, which M. de la Clue commanded in person; and about four o'clock in the afternoon, running athwart her hause, poured into her a furious broadside: thus the engagement began with equal vigour on both sides. This dispute, however, was of short duration. In about half an hour Admiral Boscawen's Mizen-mast and topsail-yards were shot away; and the enemy hoisted all the sail they could carry. Mr. Boscawen having shifted his flag from the Namur to the Newark, joined some other ships in attacking the Centaur, of seventy-four guns, which, being thus overpowered, was obliged to surrender. The British Admiral pursued them all night, during which the Souveraine, and the Guerrier, altered their course, and deserted their commander. At day-break, M. de la Clue, whose left leg had been broke in the engagement, perceiving the English squadron crowding all their sails to come up with him, and finding himself on the coast of Portugal, determined to burn his ships, rather than that they should fall into the hands of the victors. The Ocean was run ashore two leagues from Lagos, near the fort of Almadana, the commander of which fired three shot at the English; another Captain of the French squadron followed the example of his commander, and both endeavoured to disembark their men; but the sea being rough, this proved a very tedious and difficult attempt. The Captains of the Temeraire and Modeste, instead of destroying

ing their ships, anchored as near as they could to the forts Xavier and Lagres, in hopes of enjoying their protection: but in this hope they were disappointed, M. de la Clue had been landed, and the command of the Ocean was left to the Count de Carne, who, having received one broadside from the America, struck his colours, and the English took possession of this noble prize, the best ship in the French navy, mounted with eighty cannon. Captain Bentley, of the Warspight, who had remarkably signalized himself by his courage during the action of the preceding day, attacked the Temeraire, of seventy-four guns, and brought her off with little damage. Vice-Admiral Broderick, the second in command, advancing with his division, burned the Redoutable of seventy-four guns, which was bulged, and abandoned by his men and officers; but they made prize of the Modeste, carrying sixty-four guns, which had not been much injured in the engagement. This victory was obtained by the English Admiral at a very small expence of men; the whole number of the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred and fifty on board of the British squadron, though the carnage among the enemy must have been much more considerable, as M. de la Clue, in his letter to the French Ambassador at Lisbon, owned, that on board of his own ship, the Ocean, one hundred men were killed on the spot, and seventy dangerously wounded: but the most severe circumstance of this disaster was the loss of four capital ships, two of which were destroyed, and the other two brought in triumph to England, to be numbered among the best bottoms of the British navy. What augmented the good fortune of the victors, was, that not one officer lost his life in the engagement. Captain Bentley, whom the Admiral dispatched to England with the tidings of his success, met with a gracious reception from the King, who knighted him for his gallantry.

§ XLVIII

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§ XLVIII. As we propose to throw together all the naval transactions of the year, especially those that happened in the European seas, that they may be comprehended, as it were, in one view, we must now, without regarding the order of time, postpone many previous events of importance, and record the last action by sea, that in the course of this year distinguished the flag of Great-Britain. The Court of Versailles, in order to embarrass the British ministry, and divert their attention from all external expeditions, had in the winter projected a plan for invading some part of the British dominions: and in the beginning of the year had actually begun to make preparations on different parts of their coast for carrying this design into execution. Even as far back as the latter end of May, messages from the King to both Houses of Parliament were delivered by the Earl of Holdernesse and Mr. Pitt, the two Secretaries of State, signifying that his Majesty had received advices of preparations making by the French Court, with a design to invade Great-Britain: that though persuaded, by the universal zeal and affection of his people, any such attempt must, under the blessing of God, end in the destruction of those who engaged in it; yet he apprehended he should not act consistent with that paternal care and concern which he had always shown for the safety and preservation of his subjects, if he omitted any means in his power which might be necessary for their defence: he, therefore, acquainted the Parliament with his having received repeated intelligence of the enemy's preparations, to the end that his Majesty might, if he should think proper, in pursuance of the late act of Parliament, cause the militia, or such part thereof as should be necessary, to be drawn out and embodied, in order to march as occasion should require. These messages were no sooner read, than each House separately resolved to present an address, thanking his Majesty for having communicated this intelligence;

intelligence; assuring him that they would, with their lives and fortunes, support him against all attempts whatever: that, warmed with affection and zeal for his person and government, and animated by indignation at the daring designs of an enemy whose fleet had hitherto shunned the terror of the British navy, they would chearfully exert their utmost efforts to repel all insults, and effectually enable their sovereign not only to disappoint the attempts of France, but, by the blessing of God, turn them to their own confusion. The Commons at the same time resolved upon another address, desiring his Majesty would give directions to his lieutenants of the several counties, ridings, and places within South-Britain, to use their utmost diligence and attention in executing the several Acts of Parliament made for the better ordering the militia.

§ XLIX. These and other precautionary steps were accordingly taken; but the administration wisely placed their chief dependence upon the strength of the navy, part of which was so divided and stationed, as to block up all the harbours of France in which the enemy were known to make any naval armament of consequence. We have seen in what manner Rear-Admiral Rodney visited the town and harbour of Havre-de-Grace, and scoured that part of the coast in successive cruises: we have also recorded the expedition and victory of Admiral Boscawen over the squadron of La Clue, which was equipped at Toulon, with a design to assist in the projected invasion. Notwithstanding this disaster, the French ministry persisted in their design; towards the execution of which they had prepared another considerable fleet, in the harbours of Rochefort, Brest, and Port-Louis, to be commanded by M. de Conflans, and reinforced by a considerable body of troops, which were actually assembled under the Duc d'Aiguillon, at Vannes, in Lower Bretagne. Flat-bottomed boats and transports to be used in this

expedition were prepared in different ports on the coast of France; and a small squadron was equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of an enterprising adventurer, called Thurot, who had, in the course of the preceding year, signalised his courage and conduct in a large privateer called the Belleisle, which had scoured the North-Seas, taken a number of ships, and at one time maintained an obstinate battle against two English frigates, which were obliged to desist, after having received considerable damage. This man's name became a terror to the merchants of Great-Britain; for his valour was not more remarkable in battle than his conduct in eluding the pursuit of the British cruisers, who were successively detached in quest of him, through every part of the German Ocean and North-Sea, as far as the islands of Orkney. It must be likewise owned, for the honour of human nature, that this bold mariner, though destitute of the advantages of birth and education, was remarkably distinguished by his generosity and compassion to those who had the misfortune to fall into his power; and that his deportment in every respect intitled him to a much more honourable rank in the service of his country. The court of Versailles were not insensible to his merit. He obtained a commission from the French King, and was vested with the command of the small armament now fitting out in the harbour of Dunkirk. The British government, being apprised of all these particulars, took such measures to defeat the purposed invasion as must have conveyed a very high idea of the power of Great-Britain to those who considered, that, exclusive of the force opposed to this design, they at the same time carried on the most vigorous and important operations of war in Germany, America, and the East and West-Indies. Thurot's armament at Dunkirk was watched by an English squadron in the Downs, commanded by Commodore Boys; the port of Havre was guarded by

by Rear-Admiral Rodney; Mr. Boscawen had been stationed off Toulon, and the coast of Vannes was scoured by a small squadron detached from Sir Edward Hawke, who had, during the summer, blocked up the harbour of Brest, where Conflans lay with his fleet, in order to be joined by the other divisions of the armament. These different squadrons of the British navy were connected by a chain of separate cruisers; so that the whole coast of France, from Dunkirk to the extremity of Bretagne, was distressed by an actual blockade.

§ L. The French ministry being thus hampered, forebore their attempt upon Britain; and the projected invasion seemed to hang in suspense till the month of August, in the beginning of which their army in Germany was defeated at Minden. Their designs in that country being baffled by this disaster, they seemed to convert their chief attention to their sea-armament; the preparations were resumed with redoubled vigour; and even, after the defeat of La Clue, they resolved to try their fortune in a descent. They now proposed to disembark a body of troops in Ireland. Thurot received orders to sail from Dunkirk with the first opportunity, and shape his course round the northern parts of Scotland, that he might alarm the coast of Ireland, and make a diversion from that part where Conflans intended to effectuate the disembarkation of his forces. The transports and ships of war were assembled at Brest and Rochefort, having on board a train of artillery, with saddles, and other accoutrements for cavalry, to be mounted in Ireland; and a body of French troops, including part of the Irish brigade, was kept in readiness to embark. The execution of this scheme was, however, prevented by the vigilance of Sir Edward Hawke, who blocked up the harbour of Brest with a fleet of twenty-three capital ships; while another squadron of smaller ships and frigates, under the command of Captain Duff,

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tinued to cruise along the French coast, from Port L'Orient, in Bretagne, to the point of St. Gilles in Poitou. At length, however, in the beginning of November, the British squadron, commanded by Sir Edward Hawke, Sir Charles Hardy, and Rear-Admiral Geary, were driven from the coast of France by stress of weather, and on the ninth day of the month anchored in Torbay. The French Admiral, Conflans, snatched this opportunity of sailing from Brest, with one-and-twenty sail of the line and four frigates, in hopes of being able to destroy the English squadron commanded by Captain Duff, before the large fleet could return from the coast of England. Sir Edward Hawke having received intelligence that the French fleet had sailed from Brest, immediately stood to sea, in order to pursue them; and in the mean time the government issued orders for guarding all those parts of the coast that were thought the most exposed to a descent. The land-forces were put in motion, and quartered along the shore of Kent and Sussex: all the ships of war in the different harbours, even those which had just arrived from America, were ordered to put to sea, and every step was taken to disconcert the designs of the enemy.

§ LI. While these measures were taken with equal vigour and deliberation, Sir Edward Hawke steered his course directly for Quiberon, on the coast of Bretagne, which he supposed would be the rendezvous of the French squadron: but notwithstanding his utmost efforts, he was driven by a hard gale considerably to the westward, where he was joined by two frigates, the Maidstone and Coventry. These he directed to keep a-head of the squadron. The weather growing more moderate, the former made the signal for seeing a fleet, on the twentieth day of November, at half an hour past eight o'clock in the morning, and in an hour afterwards discovered them to be the enemy's squadron. They were at that time

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in chase of Captain Duff's squadron, which now joined the large fleet, after having run some risque of being taken. Sir Edward Hawke, who, when the Maidstone gave the first notice, had formed the line a-breast, now perceiving that the French Admiral endeavoured to escape with all the sail he could carry, threw out a signal for seven of his ships that were nearest the enemy to chase, and endeavour to detain them, until they could be reinforced by the rest of the squadron, which were ordered to form into a line-of-battle a-head, as they chased, that no time might be lost in the pursuit. Considering the roughness of the weather, which was extremely tempestuous; the nature of the coast, which is in this place rendered very hazardous by a great number of sand-banks, shoals, rocks, and islands, as entirely unknown to the British sailors, as they were familiar to the French navigators; the dangers of a short day, dark night, and lee-shore; it required extraordinary resolution in the English Admiral to attempt hostilities on this occasion: but Sir Edward Hawke, steeled with the integrity and fortitude of his own heart, animated by a warm love for his country, and well acquainted with the importance of the stake on which the safety of that country in a great measure depended, was resolved to run extraordinary risques in his endeavours to frustrate at once a boasted scheme projected for the annoyance of his fellow-subjects. With respect to his ships of the line, he had but the advantage of one in point of number, and no superiority in men or metal, consequently, M. de Conflans might have hazarded a fair battle on the open sea, without any imputation of temerity: but he thought proper to play a more artful game, though it did not succeed according to his expectation. He kept his fleet in a body, and retired close in shore, with a view to draw the English squadron among the shoals and islands, on which he hoped they would pay dear for

their

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their rashness and impetuosity, while he and his officers, who were perfectly acquainted with the navigation, could either stay, and take advantage of the disaster, or, if hard pressed, retire through channels unknown to the British pilots. At half an hour after two the van of the English fleet began the engagement with the rear of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Belleisle. Every ship, as she advanced, poured in a broadside on the sternmost of the French, and bore down upon their van, leaving the rear to those that came after. Sir Edward Hawke, in the Royal George, of one hundred and ten guns, reserved his fire in passing through the rear of the enemy, and ordered his master to bring him alongside of the French Admiral, who commanded in person on board the Soleil Royal, a ship mounted with eighty cannon, and provided with a complement of twelve hundred men. When the pilot remonstrated that he could not obey his command, without the most imminent risque of running upon a shoal, the veteran replied, "You "have done your duty in showing the danger; now "you are to comply with my order, and lay me "along-side the Soleil Royal." His wish was gratified: the Royal George ranged up with the French Admiral. The Thesée, another large ship of the enemy, running up between the two commanders, sustained the fire that was reserved for the Soleil Royal; but in returning the first broadside foundered, in consequence of the high sea that entered her lower deck-ports, and filled her with water. Notwithstanding the boisterous weather, a great number of ships on both sides fought with equal fury and dubious success, till about four in the afternoon, when the Formidable struck her colours. The Superb shared the fate of the Thesée in going to the bottom. The Hero hauled down her colours in token of submission, and dropped anchor; but the wind was so high, that no boat could be sent to take possession.

possession. By this time day-light began to fail, and the greater part of the French fleet escaped under cover of the darkness. Night approaching, the wind blowing with augmented violence on a lee-shore, and the British squadron being entangled among unknown shoals and islands, Sir Edward Hawke made the signal for anchoring to the westward of the small island Dumet; and here the fleet remained all night in a very dangerous riding, alarmed by the fury of the storm, and the incessant firing of guns of distress without their knowing whether it proceeded from friend or enemy. The Soleil Royal had, under favour of the night, anchored also in the midst of the British squadron; but at day-break M. de Conflans ordered her cable to be cut, and she drove a-shore to the westward of Crozie. The English Admiral immediately made signal to the Essex to slip cable, and pursue her; and, in obeying this order, she ran unfortunately on a sand-bank called Lefour, where the Resolution, another ship of the British squadron, was already grounded. Here they were both irrecoverably lost, in spite of all the assistance that could be given; but all their men, and part of their stores were saved, and the wrecks set on fire by order of the Admiral. He likewise detached the Portland, Chatham, and Vengeance to destroy the Soleil Royal, which was burned by her own people, before the English ships could approach; but they arrived time enough to reduce the Hero to ashes on the Lefour, where she had been also stranded; and the Juste, another of their great ships, perished in the mouth of the Loire. The Admiral, perceiving seven large ships of the enemy riding at anchor between Point Penvas and the mouth of the river Vilaine, made the signal to weigh, in order to attack them; but the fury of the storm increased to such a degree, that he was obliged to remain at anchor, and even order the top-gallant masts to be struck. In the mean time, the French ships being lightened of their

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their cannon, their officers took advantage of the flood, and a more moderate gale under the land, to enter the Vilaine, where they lay within half a mile of the entrance, protected by some occasional batteries erected on the shore, and by two large frigates moored across the mouth of the harbour. Thus they were effectually secured from any attempts of small vessels; and as for large ships, there was not water sufficient to float them within fighting distance of the enemy. On the whole, this battle, in which a very inconsiderable number of lives was lost, may be considered as one of the most perilous and important actions that ever happened in any war between the two nations; for it not only defeated the projected invasion, which had hung menacing so long over the apprehensions of Great-Britain; but it gave the finishing blow to the naval power of France, which was totally disabled from undertaking any thing of consequence in the sequel*. By this time, indeed, Thurot had escaped from Dunkirk, and directed his course to the North-Sea, whither he was followed by Commodore Boys, who nevertheless was disappointed in his pursuit; but the fate of that enterprising adventurer falls under the annals of the ensuing year, among the transactions of which it shall be recorded. As for Sir Edward Hawke, he continued cruising off the coast of Bretagne for a considerable time after the victory he had obtained, taking particular care to block up the mouth of the river Vilaine, that the seven French ships might not escape and join M. Conflans, who made shift to reach Rochefort with the shattered remains of his squadron. Indeed, this service became such a consider-

* During this war, the English had already taken and destroyed twenty-seven French ships of the line, and thirty-one frigates: two of their great ships and four frigates perished; so that their whole loss, in this particular, amounted to sixty-four; whereas, the loss of Great-Britain did not exceed seven sail of the line and five frigates. It may be easily conceived how the French marine, at first greatly inferior to the naval power of Britain, must have been affected by this dreadful balance to its prejudice.

able object in the eyes of the British ministry, that a large fleet was maintained upon this coast, apparently for no other purpose, during the whole year, and, after all, the enemy eluded their vigilance. Sir Edward Hawke, having undergone a long and dangerous conflict with tempestuous weather, was at length recalled, and presented to his Sovereign, who gratified him with a considerable pension, for the courage and conduct he had so often and so long displayed in the service of his country; and his extraordinary merit was afterwards honoured with the approbation of the Parliament. The people of France were so dispirited by the defeat of their army at Minden, and the disaster of their squadron at Lagos, that the ministry of Versailles thought proper to conceal the extent of their last misfortunes under a palliating detail published in the Gazette of Paris, as a letter from M. Conflans to the Count de St. Florentin, Secretary of the marine. In this partial misrepresentation their Admiral was made to affirm, that the British fleet consisted of forty ships of the line of battle, besides frigates; that the Soleil Royal had obliged the Royal George to sheer off; that the seven ships which retreated into the river Vilaine had received very little damage, and would be soon repaired; and that, by the junction of Bompart's squadron, he should be soon able to give a good account of the English Admiral. These tumid assertions, so void of truth, are not to be imputed to an illiberal spirit of vain glory, so much as to a political design of extenuating the national calamity, and supporting the spirit of the people.

§ LII. The alarm of the French invasion, which was thus so happily frustrated, not only disturbed the quiet of Great-Britain, but also diffused itself to the kingdom of Ireland, where it was productive of some publick disorder. In the latter end of October, the two Houses of Parliament, assembled at Dublin, received a formal message from

from the Duke of Bedford, Lord-Lieutenant of that kingdom, to the following effect: That, by a letter from the Secretary of State, written by his Majesty's express command, it appeared that France, far from resigning her plan of invasion, on account of the disaster that befel her Toulon squadron, was more and more confirmed in her purpose, and even, instigated by despair itself, to attempt, at all hazards, the only resource she seemed to have left for thwarting, by a diversion at home, the measures of England abroad in prosecuting a war which hitherto opened, in all parts of the world, so unfavourable a prospect to the views of French ambition: that in case the body of French troops, amounting to eighteen thousand men, under the command of the Duc d'Aiguillon, assembled at Vannes, where also a sufficient number of transports was prepared, should be able to elude the British squadron, Ireland would, in all probability, be one of their chief objects; his grace thought it, therefore, incumbent upon him, in a matter of such high importance to the welfare of that kingdom, to communicate this intelligence to the Irish Parliament. He told them, his Majesty would make no doubt but that the zeal of his faithful Protestant subjects of that kingdom had been already sufficiently quickened by the repeated accounts received of the enemy's dangerous designs, and actual preparations made, at a vast expence, in order to invade the several parts of the British dominions. He gave them to understand he had received his Sovereign's commands, to use his utmost endeavours to animate and excite his loyal people of Ireland to exert their well-known zeal and spirit in support of his Majesty's government, and in defence of all that was dear to them, by timely preparation to resist and frustrate any attempts of the enemy to disturb the quiet and shake the security of this kingdom: he, therefore, in the strongest manner, recommended it to them

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'to manifest, upon this occasion, that zeal for the 'present happy establishment, and that affection for his Majesty's person and government, by which the Parliament of that nation had been so often distinguished.' Immediately after this message was communicated, the House of Commons unanimously resolved to present an address to the Lord-Lieutenant, thanking his Grace for the care and concern he had shown for the safety of Ireland, in having imparted intelligence of so great importance; desiring him to make use of such means as should appear to him the most effectual for the security and defence of the kingdom; and assuring him, that the House would make good whatever expence should be necessarily incurred for that purpose. This intimation, and the steps that were taken in consequence of it for the defence of Ireland, produced such apprehensions and distraction among the people of that kingdom, as had well nigh proved fatal to the publick credit. In the first transports of popular fear, there was such an extraordinary run upon the banks of Dublin, that several considerable bankers were obliged to stop payment; and the circulation was in danger of being suddenly stagnated, when the Lord-Lieutenant, the members of both Houses of Parliament, the lord mayor, aldermen, merchants, and principal traders of Dublin, engaged in an association to support publick credit, by taking the notes of bankers in payment: a resolution which effectually answered the purpose intended.

§ LIII. Howsoever the court of Versailles might have flattered itself that their invading army would in Ireland be joined by a great number of the natives, in all probability it would have been disappointed in this hope, had their purposed descent even been carried into execution, for no signs of disaffection to the reigning family appeared at this juncture. On the contrary, the wealthy individuals of the Romish persuasion offered to accommodate

BOOK III. 1759. the government with large sums of money, in case of necessity, to support the present establishment against all its enemies; and the Roman Catholicks of the city of Cork, in a body, presented an address to the Lord-Lieutenant, expressing their loyalty in the warmest terms of assurance. After having congratulated his Grace on the unparalleled successes which had attended his Majesty's arms, and expressed their sense of the King's paternal tenderness for his kingdom of Ireland, they acknowledged, with the deepest sense of gratitude, that protection and indulgence they had enjoyed under his Majesty's mild and auspicious reign. They professed the warmest indignation at the threatened invasion of the kingdom, by an enemy, who, grown desperate from repeated defeats, might possibly make that attempt as a last effort, vainly flattered with the imaginary hope of assistance in Ireland from the former attachment of their deluded predecessors. They assured his Grace, in the most solemn manner, that such schemes were altogether inconsistent with their principles and intentions: that they would, to the utmost exertion of their abilities, with their lives and fortunes, join in the defence and support of his Majesty's royal person and government against all invaders whatsoever: that they should be always ready to concur in such measures, and to act such parts in defence of the kingdom, in common with the rest of his Majesty's subjects, as his Grace in his great wisdom should be pleased to appoint; and think themselves particularly happy to be under the direction and command of so known an assertor of liberty, such an important and distinguished governor. Finally, they expressed the most earnest wish, that his Majesty's arms might be crowned with such a continuance of success, as should enable him to defeat the devices of all his enemies, and obtain a speedy and honourable peace. This cordial address, which was transmitted to the Earl of Shannon,

Shannon, and by him presented to the Duke of Bedford, must have been very agreeable to the government at such a critical conjuncture.

§ LIV. Although no traces of disaffection to his majesty's family appeared on this trying occasion, it must nevertheless be acknowledged, that a spirit of dissatisfaction broke out with extraordinary violence among the populace of Dublin. The present Lord-Lieutenant was not remarkably popular in his administration. He had bestowed one place of considerable importance upon a gentleman whose person was obnoxious to many people in that kingdom, and perhaps failed in that affability and condescension which a free and ferocious nation expects to find in the character of him to whose rule they are subjected. Whether the offence taken at his deportment had created enemies to his person, or the nation in general began to entertain doubts and jealousies of the government [illegible] certain it is, great pains were taken to [illegible] among the lower sort of people, that an union [illegible] effected between Great-Britain [illegible] this last kingdom would [illegible] ent and independency, and be [illegible] taxes that are levied upon the [illegible] This notion inflamed the [illegible] that they assembled in [illegible], broke into the House of [illegible], seated an old woman [illegible] searched for the journals. [illegible] they would have committed to the flames. [illegible] content with this outrage, they compelled the members of both Houses, whom they met in the streets, to take an oath that they would never consent to such an union, or give any vote contrary to the true interest of Ireland. Divers coaches belonging to obnoxious persons were destroyed, and their horses killed; and a gibbet was erected for one gentleman in particular, who narrowly escaped the ungovernable rage of those riotous

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riotous insurgents. A body of horse and inf[illegible] were drawn out on this occasion, in order to [illegible] awe the multitude, which at night dispersed [illegible] self. Next day addresses to the Lord-Lieute[illegible] were agreed to by both Houses of Parliame[illegible], [illegible] a committee of enquiry appointed, that the [illegible] leaders of the tumult might be discovered, [illegible] brought to condign punishment.

§ LV. When the ministry of England received the first advice, that M. Thurot had escaped from Dunkirk with a small squadron of armed ship[illegible] having on board a body of land-troops, desig[illegible] for a private expedition on the coast of Scotland or Ireland, expresses were immediately dispatched to the commanding officers of the forces in North-Britain, with orders to put the forts along the coast of that kingdom in the [illegible] posture of defence; and to hold every [illegible] to repel the enemy [illegible] case they should [illegible] [illegible]sequence of these [illegible] were erected for the immediate [illegible] intelligence; places of rendezvo[illegible] the regular troops and militia; [illegible]ned that no officer should absent h[illegible], on any pretence whatev[illegible] Th[illegible]m that can be given to th[illegible] charact[illegible] is an account of the alarm which [illegible] armament spread through the w[illegible] a powerful kingdom, whose flee[illegible]. Perhaps Thurot's career wo[illegible] sooner stopped, had Commodore Boys[illegible] for a longer cruise; but this comman[illegible]ged to put into Leith for a supply of pro[illegible]ons, at the very time when Thurot was seen hovering on the coast near Aberdeen; and before the English squadron was provided for a prosecution of the cruise, the other had taken shelter at Gottenburgh, in Sweden.

END OF VOLUME FOURTH.

[illegible] Baldwin, Printers,
[illegible] Street, London.